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## FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

# EASTERN AFFAIRS

PART XVII

CLOSED  
UNTIL

1976

JULY TO DECEMBER 1925

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169 Mr. Jordan No. 160. Tel.	" 10	Nejd-Hejaz conflict. Reports rumour that Medina garrison has offered to submit to Ibn Saud	147
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171 Mr. Jordan No. 161. Tel.	" 12	Bombardment of steamship "Kenah" by Wahabis. Refers to No. 168. Transmits copy telegram to Cairo stating that Wahabis have been driven off and that port of Yambo is safe	148
172 Mr. Jordan No. 162. Tel.	" 13	Mr. Philby's activities. Refers to No. 160. Mr. Philby disappeared on the 11th November, probably bound for Lath on a visit to Ibn Saud	148
173 Mr. Jordan No. 102. Secret	Oct. 29	Political situation in Hejaz. Transmits Jeddah report for period the 29th September to the 29th October	148



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176 Mr. Jordan No. 163. Tel.	" 23	Nejd-Hejaz conflict. Reports mutiny among King Ali's troops, temporarily quelled by promises of pay long overdue	152
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178 Mr. Jordan No. 163. Tel.	" 26	Nejd-Hejaz conflict. Transmits text of telegram to India reporting that if Medina has not yet fallen it is very near it	153
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182 Mr. Jordan No. 169. Tel.	" 3	Nejd-Hejaz conflict. Reports bombing of Mecca and Ibn Saud's protest	155
183 Mr. Jordan No. 170. Tel.	" 4	Arbitrary behaviour of Hejaz Government. Reports action taken as result of Government robbery of £500 from Indian merchant	155
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189 Mr. Jordan No. 183. Tel.	" 11	Asylum for ex-King Ali. Refers to No. 187. Requests instructions in view of impending fall of Jeddah	157
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194 Mr. Jordan No. 188. Tel.	" 19	Nejd-Hejaz conflict. Reports Ali's abdication and probable arrival of Ibn Saud on Wednesday	159
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## PART XVII.

## CHAPTER I.—MOSUL.

( E 3922 82 65 )

No. 1

*Sir R. Drummond to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 3.)*

I HAVE the honour to attach copy of a letter received on the 30th June from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey concerning the situation in the Vilayet of Mosul.

I submitted this communication to the acting president of the Council, and, in accordance with his instructions, I have the honour to request that you will be so good as to communicate to me with the least possible delay any observations on the letter from the Turkish Foreign Minister which you might wish to lay before the members of the Council and the League.

I inform the Turkish Government that its letter, accompanied by an  
 observation of the British Government may wish to make on it, will be circulated  
 without delay to the members of the Council and of the League

1. I have, &c.

ERIC DRUMMOND.

Secretary-General

Enclosure in No. 1

*Dr. Huxley to Sir E. Drummond*

M 1<sup>er</sup> Secrétaire général.

Анонс. 12 28 мая 199.

DANS les enquêtes et interrogations auxquelles s'était livrée, dans le village du M... la commission constituée par le Conseil de la Société des Nations, il avait été affirmé de sa part à la population locale qu'elle était entièrement libre de ses décisions sur l'avenir de la province et que la libre expression de sa volonté ne nuisait pour personne aucune suite fâcheuse ou simplement désagréable. Il résultait, d'ailleurs, de l'esprit même du mandat confié par le Conseil à la commission que le voyage n'aurait pu être dans le cas contraire d'aucune utilité.

Ceux des habitants de Memoul qui s'étaient sentis rassurés par les affirmations  
sûres données, ainsi que par la nature de la communion d'enquête, avaient manifesté  
devant celle-ci leur attachement à la mère patrie.

Plus un grand nombre d'endroits, ceux qui avaient de la sorte parlé selon leur conscience, et des représailles, avaient pris la commission d'enquête en celui de la région où ils se trouvaient d'assurer qu'ils ne trouvaient pas de la sorte par les autorités d'occupation pour avoir, malgré la pression officielle exercée sur eux, accompli leur devoir patriotique. Ils avaient, entre autres, demandé à la commission d'intervenir auprès du Conseil pour qu'un délégué de la Société des Nations demeurât en permanence dans la région et veillât à empêcher toute mesure de représailles jusqu'à ce qu'une décision fût prise relativement au sort de Mowul.



du Conseil et de l'Assemblée de la Société des Nations et dans l'attente d'une prompto réponse, j'ai, etc.

12.



## No. 3

Mr Hoare to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 21)

Constantinople, July 20, 1925  
 I am communicating contents to Turkish Government.  
 As regards officer at Kermar, I say that I presume that enquiry will be held and that I shall be informed of result. Essential thing, however, is to remove him from the frontier. As I consider matter urgent, I have not awaited your instructions, and I submit this proposal to the earnest attention of Turkish Government, being convinced that it wishes to co-operate with Iraq in avoiding frontier incidents.  
 If you approve action I should be glad to be able to inform Turkish Government.  
 Repeated to Bagdad, No. 38.

## No. 4

Mr. Hoare to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 21)

(No. 96)  
 (Telegraphic.)  
 Constantinople, July 20, 1925  
 MY telegram No 95  
 I have omitted from semi-official communication mention of Sir H. Dobbs's conviction of Turkish complicity and threat to allow Kurdish chiefs to settle near frontier, as former would merely provoke acrimonious denial, and such a threat, without your instructions, should at any rate be kept in check. I am sure that they have no intention of restraining Djamil.  
 Repeated to Bagdad No. 39

## No. 5.

Mr. Hoare to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 27.)

Therapia, July 26, 1925.  
 WITH reference to my telegrams Nos. 95 and 96 of the 20th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of the note which I have addressed to the Turkish Government urging that immediate steps be taken to restrain Djamil Agha from raiding the Iraq frontier.  
 As I was anxious to keep the question of the activities as an isolated issue, I omitted the information contained in paragraph 2 of my telegram No. 95, which stated that Sir H. Dobbs had been informed that the Turkish Government was anxious to co-operate with Iraq in avoiding frontier incidents. I propose to embody it in a separate note within the next day or two.  
 In handing this note to Nusret Bey, I said that I was somewhat uneasy about the present source of danger, and, to prevent future incidents, I suggested that the officers in charge of the Turkish frontier posts required categorical instructions interpreting their instructions more in accordance with their own inclinations and their strict sense. He would at once pass my communication on to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs with a covering letter drawing special attention to its contents.  
 I have, &c.  
 R. H. HOARE.

## Enclosure to No. 5

Mr. Hoare to Nusret Bey.

Therapia, le 20 juillet 1925.  
 ME référant à ma note verbale en date du 15 de ce mois, j'ai l'honneur de prier votre Excellence de vouloir bien informer le Gouvernement turc, d'urgence, que Djamil Agha a récemment attaqué les postes de frontière irakiens à Piraak, Marais et Shiranis capturant à Piraak des munitions de fabrication anglaise. Le Haut-Commissaire à Bagdad me signale que les agissements de cet individu dans la région de la frontière et la pression qu'il exerce, d'après les informations fournies par des réfugiés, il exerce sur la population kurde, sont une source de danger pour la région. Parmi les chefs kurdes de cette région se trouvant actuellement en territoire irakien. Ces informations indiquent, d'ailleurs, l'existence d'une collaboration entre l'officier commandant le poste turc à Kermar et Djamil Agha, qui aurait reçu de lui des munitions turques en échange des munitions anglaises qu'il avait capturées; l'officier aurait aussi ordonné à ses commandants d'avant-postes de fournir des armes. Je vous prie, en portant le contenu de cette note à l'attention du Gouvernement turc, de signaler qu'à mon avis il n'est pas d'importance immédiate de savoir si l'officier à Kermar a ou non à son devoir. Sans doute le Gouvernement turc conduira une enquête à cet égard et voudra bien m'informer du résultat. Le point capital est d'écarter le danger que la population, convaincue de la vérité de ces allégations, livre à des représailles ou territoire turc pour se venger des agressions répétées de Djamil Agha. Le moyen le plus sûr d'attendre le but indiqué serait évidemment de prendre des mesures immédiates pour l'éloigner de la frontière.  
 Considérant la question urgente, je me permets, sans attendre les instructions de votre Gouvernement, de soumettre cette proposition à la sérieuse attention du Gouvernement de la République dans la persuasion qu'il désire coopérer sincèrement avec les autorités de l'Irak pour éviter des incidents de frontière.

Veuillez agréer, &c.  
 R. H. HOARE.

## No. 6.

Mr Austen Chamberlain to Mr Hoare (Constantinople)

(No 105)  
 (Telegraphic.) R  
 Foreign Office, July 28, 1925.  
 YOUR telegram No. 95 of 20th July. Attacks on Iraq posts by Jamil Agha.  
 I approve your action, and you should inform Turkish Government accordingly.

## [E 4642 32.65]

## No. 7

Acting Secretary-General, League of Nations, to Foreign Office.—(Received August 1)

Geneva, August 3, 1925.  
 Sir,  
 I HAVE the honour to attach a copy of a letter, dated the 25th July, with its annex, as received, which reached me to-day from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, concerning the situation in the vilayet of Mosul.  
 In accordance with the procedure already followed regarding the previous communication from the Turkish Government on this subject, I have the honour to request that you will be so good as to send me, with the least possible delay, any observations on this letter which you might wish to lay before the members of the Council and of the League. The correspondence will then be circulated.  
 I have, &c.  
 B. ATTOLICO,  
 Acting Secretary-General.



Enclosure in No. 7

Dr. Ruddy to Secretary-General, League of Nations

M. le Secrétaire général,

Angora, le 11 août 1925

COMME suite à la lettre que j'eus l'honneur de vous faire parvenir le 10 août courant au sujet de la répression entreprise par les autorités britanniques en Irak contre ceux des habitants du vilayet de Mossoul qui avaient manifesté auprès de la Commission d'Enquête de leur attachement à la mère-patrie, j'ai l'honneur de vous remettre, ci-joint, la traduction d'une proclamation britannique s'adressant à une région de Mossoul, et, comme je l'avais déclaré dans ma lettre précédente, présentée à la commission le 17 mars dernier, lors du séjour de celle-ci à Dohuk, et ayant été lue ouvertement en présence des représentants de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Irak leur désir d'être rattachés à la Turquie.

En maintenant les demandes formulées dans ma lettre du 23 juin, je vous prie, M. le Secrétaire général, de bien vouloir porter le contenu de ma lettre et de la proclamation y annexée à la connaissance des membres du Conseil et de l'Assemblée de la Société des Nations.

Veuillez agréer, &amp;c.

Dr. ROUCHDY

## Proclamation.

(Traduction.)

Le Gouvernement britannique a l'honneur de vous adresser la présente proclamation et à l'invitation du Gouvernement, et la destruction par un bombardement aérien du village qu'il habite commencera à partir du 22 mai 1925 à l'aube.

Le Mutesarrif du Liva de Mossoul

ABDUL-AZIZ.

L'Inspecteur administratif de Mossoul,

L. R.

E 4904 2 65

No. 8.

Secretary-General, League of Nations, to Foreign Office.—(Received August 19.)

Sir,

Geneva, August 17, 1925.

I HAVE the honour to attach copy of a telegram, dated the 15th August, which reached me to day from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey concerning the situation in the neighbourhood of the Brussels provisional boundary line between Turkey and Iraq.

In accordance with the procedure already followed regarding previous communications, I have the honour to request that you will be so good as to send me, with the least possible delay, any observations on this telegram which you may wish to lay before the members of Council and of the League of Nations. The correspondence will then be circulated.

I have, &amp;c.

ERIC DRUMMOND

Enclosure in No. 8.

Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to Sir E. Drummond

(Télégraphique.)

Angora, le 15 août 1925

BRUIT circule avec persistance dans régions limitrophes ligne conventionnelle frontalière qu'au sud cette ligne, des bandes volontaires sont formées par une vaste et active propagande et qu'à l'aide ces formations, on tenterait susciter ouvertement ou

ou tenterait susciter ouvertement ou clandestinement des troupes régulières. Juste au moment où les troupes britanniques cherchent à en contrôler véracité et étendue, quatre avions anglais franchirent ligne conventionnelle 11 août courant et survoleront Metgin, situé au nord de cette ligne, et au sud vers le Beit-ul Chebab. Cet acte a été protesté auprès du Gouvernement britannique. Gouvernement République turque a l'honneur d'y attirer attention Société des Nations.—TEWRIK ROUCHDY

E 4797 32 65

No. 9.

Foreign Office to Secretary-General, League of Nations

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 24, 1925

WITH reference to your letter of the 14th July and previous correspondence regarding the situation in the Vilayet of Mosul, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to inform you that His Majesty's Government, having received a report on the subject from His Majesty's High Commissioner for Iraq, desire to offer the following further observations upon the letter from his Excellency the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs of the 23rd June.

2. The specific allegations of the Turkish Foreign Minister are taken in order

(a) It is stated that the British Commissioner in the Vilayet of Mosul has been accused of having expressed his opinion in favour of the Turkish Government.

The Turkish Minister states that the British Commissioner in the Vilayet of Mosul has been accused of having expressed his opinion in favour of the Turkish Government. The following extract from the report of the British Commissioner to the British Liaison Officer, is an eloquent testimony to the correctness of the attitude adopted by the local authorities.

"Je me suis à reconnaître l'efficacité des mesures prises par l'administration de Kirkuk à l'effet d'empêcher toutes manifestations dans la rue, dans les rues comme dans les villages. Les mesures prises ont été très efficaces et ont eu pour résultat de maintenir la tranquillité dans la région."

It should be added that in the Mosul Vilayet the town of Kirkuk, with its predominantly Turkish population, was that in which the most violent pro-Turkish feelings might have been expected to manifest themselves.

(b.) That immediately after the departure of the commission wholesale reprisals began against those who declared for Turkey.

The questions addressed by the commissioners to the witnesses who appeared before them were put in secret, and the Iraq Government therefore has no means of knowing what persons expressed pro-Turkish feelings, except in the case of one or two who demonstrated those feelings openly, and, by inference, in the case of others who, after the departure of the commission, put themselves in touch with the Turkish authorities over the border and then returned to create disorder. The allegation of wholesale reprisals is devoid of any foundation; there have been no reprisals whatever on anybody.

(c.) That in many places persons who had declared in favour of Turkey were pressed to sign collective manifestos going back on their previous declarations, and that those who refused to do so were imprisoned in Bagdad or Mosul.

There is no foundation whatever for this allegation. Such collective manifestos, to have any value, would obviously be intended for despatch to the commission or to the League of Nations. His Majesty's Government venture to suggest that enquiries were made after the departure of the commission. In any case the necessity of the enquiry addressed to each witness by the commission would render any such proceeding impossible (see answer to (b) above).

(d.) That the population of the Dohuk Amadia region were, several weeks after the departure of the commission, repeatedly bombarded by the British Air Force as a reprisal for pro-Turkish demonstrations at Dohuk, and that nearly all the Zedki and Dohki villages were destroyed, many inhabitants being killed and arrested.

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D 4



This complaint appears to refer to a one-day operation on the 22nd May. The actual facts are as follows: On the occasion of the visit of the commission to Dohuk a number of Duki aghas, with personal grievances against the kaimakam, made a pro-Turkish demonstration. This scene was led by Zafar Agha, an exceptionally bad character and the murderer of the last chief of the Yazidi, of whose wife he was the paramour. Immediately after the departure of the commission information was received that they would be punished for this episode, and that their best defence was organised rebellion, which, they were assured, Turkish soldiers in tribal clothing would be available to assist. Indeed, three Duki aghas—Zafar, Shafik and Rashid—were shortly after found to be corresponding with other potential malcontents with a view to combined defiance of the Irak Government. Propaganda regarding the approach of large bodies of Turkish troops became intense; on the 8th April a police patrol was waylaid and disarmed; the Government mudir was defied and insulted; in the middle of April Zafar Agha returned from a visit to Jezirah with ammunition for distribution, and cut the telegraph wire. All possible forbearance was exercised and every means taken to give these three ringleaders the opportunity to come in to the Irak Government, and so avoid punitive measures, which might be open to misrepresentation. Early, when further delay seemed likely to lead to serious developments, the three ringleaders were summoned to Dohuk. On their refusal, warnings were dropped on five villages to the effect that, in view of the refusal of their aghas to come in, these five villages were liable to be attacked. On the 30th May Shafik Agha submitted at Dohuk, and news was received that Zafar Agha had been murdered by a fellow villager. On the 31st May the village of Hagar was destroyed by ground troops. Rifle fires were inflicted on the other four villages. Details of the murder of Zafar Agha have never been received, but it appears to have been committed by his domestic enemies, and the implication in the Turkish note that the Irak Government was connected with the incident is devoid of any foundation whatever. As regards refugees, it is not improbable that the villagers of the guilty aghas took temporary refuge across the border on the approach of the troops.

(e.) That organised bands are terrorising and killing such persons as declare themselves partisans of Turkey.

No evidence whatever is brought forward in support of this allegation, which is without any shadow of foundation.

(f.) That persons killed or imprisoned since the departure of the commission are numerous.

No person has been imprisoned for expressing pro-Turkish sentiments to the commission. From a time when the president of the commission was present in the village of Hagar (given at the request of the president of the commission) to disperse, when the attitude of the crowd had become menacing and alarmed the president and the commission. The remarks made above regarding the secrecy of the commission's operations of witnesses also apply to this allegation. Even in the restricted military operations described, no casualties on human beings whatever have been inflicted, owing to strict observance of the rule of giving notice before air action is taken. The case of Zafar Agha is disposed of in the answer to (d) above.

(g.) That the village of Mayo'ra-i-Sual, in the Zakho district, was entirely destroyed.

No village of this name is known. If Marsa is intended, the facts are as follows—

A police patrol from Zakho spent the night of the 3rd-4th May at Marsa, the village of Jamil Agha. The patrol was ambushed by Jamil Agha, losing the inspector in command and seven men killed and two wounded. The survivors, who reached Shurama Isam, were again attacked that night by Jamil Agha, but with local assistance beat him off. Immediate punitive air action was therefore taken against the deserted villages of Marsa and

Bazinger, belonging to Jamil Agha, who had at once crossed the border to Turkey after this outrage. After a delay to give Jamil an opportunity to come in, the same two villages and two others belonging to him were again bombed on the 18th May, and subsequently occupied by ground troops, but not damaged in any way by the troops. The situation remained quiet until early July, when Jamil Agha became active, and continued to attack the frontier posts almost nightly.

I am, &c.

THOMAS SPRING RICE.

E 4928 2 65

No. 10.

Foreign Office to Secretary-General, League of Nations.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 27, 1925.

I AM directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to request that you will be so good as to lay the following matter, relative to the situation on the Turco-Irak frontier, before the members of the Council of the League of Nations.

2. The villages of Sinat and Derslish, south-west of Av-a-Guzi and north of Pirakb, were visited during the month of June by Turkish troops, and their Christian inhabitants were expelled. These villages lie several miles to the south of the provisional frontier-line laid down by the Council at Brussels in October last; and His Majesty's Government have protested to the Council against this violation of the agreement accepted by both the Turkish and the British Governments.

This matter has already been brought to the notice of the Turkish Government by His Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople, who have asked that instructions may be given to the Turkish authorities in those regions to respect the provisional frontier.

I am, &c.

THOMAS SPRING RICE.

No. 11

Sir R. Lindsay (No. 44) to High Commissioner, Bagdad.—(Reputed to Foreign Office; Received August 28.)

No. 112.)

Telegraphic) R.

Constantinople, August 27, 1925

THE PRESIDENT OF THE ARAB LIGAS AND ARAB LEAGUE OF NATIONS. The Turkish Government have protested to League of Nations and taken measures for protection of frontier.

E 4911.32 65]

No. 12

Foreign Office to Secretary General, League of Nations.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 28, 1925.

I AM directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd August transmitting a copy of a letter dated the 25th July, with its annex from the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, relative to the situation in the Vilayet of Mosul, and requesting any observations thereon which His Majesty's Government may wish to lay before the members of the Council and of the League.

2. The circumstances in which the Irak authorities were compelled to take certain punitive action in the Dohuk-Amadiya region are fully set forth in Foreign Office letter of the 24th August, and are not being repeated here. I am to invite particular attention to the fact that the Chief Rashid Agha, to whom reference is made in the proclamation forwarded to you by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, is the "third chief" referred to at the end of paragraph 2 in the Foreign Office letter of the 10th July, that the action taken against him was dictated solely by reasons of public security and administrative necessity and that it was in no way connected with the views which Rashid Agha may have expressed before the Frontier Commission. A warning, such as that enclosed in the note from the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, is usually issued in advance of any air action in order to enable innocent persons to move to a place of safety.

I am, &c.

THOMAS SPRING-RICE



Secretary-General, League of Nations, to Foreign Office. — (Received August 29.)

Sir,  
 I HAVE the honour to attach copy of a telegram, dated the 26th August, which reached me to-day from the Minister for Foreign Affairs (*ad interim*) of the Republic of Turkey concerning incidents in the neighbourhood of the Brussels provisional boundary.  
 In accordance with the procedure already followed regarding previous communications, I have the honour to forward to you the copy of the telegram in the least possible delay, any observations on this telegram which you might wish to lay before the members of the Council and of the League. The correspondence will then be circulated.

I have, &c.  
ERIC DRUMMOND

Enclosure in No. 13.

*Turkish Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs to Sir E. Drummond*

[illegible]

No 14.

*Sir R. Lindsay to Mr. Austen Chamberlain—(Received August 31)*

(No 880)

ON returning to Constantinople from leave, and on reading through the despatches and Turkish Government notes about Irak which Mr Hoare has forwarded to you, I could not help feeling that the prospects here of a quiet solution of the ~~Irak question~~ <sup>Irak question</sup> were ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> very bright. I was told, however, that the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs on his way to Geneva would spend a couple of nights in town.

2 I saw Tewfik Rushdi Bey on the 23rd instant, and after exchanging  
at Geneva, I told his Excellency that I felt disquieted at the situation I found  
not have been rendered difficult by the undue encouragement meanwhile of  
unjustified hopes. I had made representations in this sense to his Excellency in the  
spring of this year, but now that I was back in Turkey I greatly regretted to observe  
nothing satisfactory in the outlook. The local authorities on the frontier were not  
behaving loyally; the press was working itself up into a state of excitement, the  
Government showed no desire to restrain either and to judge by its notes to this  
Embassy seemed to be approving the course which events were taking

3 I answered a lengthy though quite friendly discussion of details which I fear was inconclusive, in the course of which Tewfik Rushdi Bey maintained that the press was showing remarkable restraint, the Government was encouraging the press in this attitude, and the local authorities, in accordance with the stringent instructions they had received, were behaving most correctly. He said that the Government desired peace, and to ensure it must have security, and he feared that a decision on the lines of the Irak League Commission's recommendations would leave a frontier uncovered to such an extent as to remove all sense of security. There were, he said, cases where the feelings of a people might be too strong to be repressed. To this I answered that while it might possibly be as he said, in some cases, it was the function of the Government to consider very coolly beforehand how exceedingly grave the consequences might be of giving way to feelings. I should say, however, that he gave me the most astounding optimism. He was quite convinced, he said, that the Council would be able to evolve a decision of the most perfect justice, which would be a stumbling-block at the feet of international friendship. His Excellency is indeed of an exuberant temperament, and I am unable to decide, nor does it much matter, whether his optimism is sincere or otherwise.

4. The French Ambassador with whom I have also had a conversation, has also noticed the preference in opinion here, and anticipates that we are entering on a period of considerable anxiety. He had thought the Turks, with their large concentrations of troops in the eastern vilayets, were meditating an actual *coup d'état* against Mouk, he has abandoned this idea, but he thinks they probably mean to carry on a kind of guerilla warfare of bands and "chettes," which will extend over the whole frontier from Alexandretta to the confines of Persia. It will be dangerous to the principle of the mandatory system. The French, he thinks, will have to pay at least some part of the bill. His Majesty's Government and already all his pending questions with the Turks are at an absolute dead stop. He is convinced, as I am too, that in all this the Turks are and will be instigated and encouraged by the Russian Government, and perhaps too he thinks (though I doubt it) by the German. He does not think that the Turkish Government will push matters to the point of war. They are still too anxious for peaceful reconstruction of their own country, but the danger will be considerable in any case, and will be greatly aggravated if some exterior complication should supervene—if, for instance, the Powers were to be seriously engaged in difficulties in China.

5 I venture to think that M. Sarrault's views, as reported by me above, are in the main correct, and that we may within the next few months have serious grounds for anxiety in our relations with Turkey. The report of the League's Frontier Commission is stuffed full of phrases and dicta which for years to come will afford ammunition to Turkish irredentists. The Government of Angora, no less than weak Governments of Europe, is anxious for its own purposes and popularity to be able to point to some striking success in the field of foreign policy, and in the pursuit of it the Turkish Government is inclined to push matters to the very edge of the precipice. At the same time the elements making for an eventually peaceful settlement are steadily increasing. With all their internal oppressions and independence tribunals, I do not feel that the Turkish Government is yet entirely happy as to its internal situation. They seem to be to be as keen now as they were two months ago, or even more keen, on the development of their material resources, and as willing to make vast sacrifices for this purpose. Politically, they are undoubtedly in a matter of this sort, considerably swayed by Russian advice, but at the same time balanced as they are between Russia on the north, and the Western Powers on the south, they are most anxious not to be thrown or to throw themselves into the arms of the former, for even Tewfik Rushdi Bey, who professes almost openly a sort of rapid sentimental affection for Russia, has no misapprehensions as to what would follow from a fall to the northern side of the fence. Finally, though I have talked above of effervescences and excitements, I feel bound to say that though they exist they have not yet been carried to exorbitant lengths. I do not think that the Turkish Government has as yet shown any intention of "going all out."

I have &c  
R C LINDSAY



1

Ambassade de la République turque, Londres,  
le 31 août 1921.

Il ne saurait être question de protester formellement auprès du Gouvernement turc contre cette agression, qui peut avoir comme but la création

Veuillez agréer, de  
A. FÉLIX

*Consul London to Mr Helleney — (Received September 2.)*

*Genova, September 2, 1925*

FOLLOWING from Mr Chamberlain -

I am thinking about getting an M.S. in Water Science and Water Quality. I will then be able to read a lot of books on SW. I am not sure if I can do this. I am not sure if we will get better results than a foreign Secretary of State for the job. I will stay here as long as necessary.

(Repeated to Constantinople and Bagdad)

*Consul London to Mr. Wallisley.—(Received September 4.)*

Given: November 3, 1925

**FOLLOWING** for Kuppel from Steward for immediate use —

Amery then presented British case regarding Mosul. He dealt with question of legal sovereignty pointing out that it was not possible at the moment to state case in favour of either Iraq or Turkey. He stressed Commission on impartial and painstaking conduct of its enquiry, and local Iraq authorities on fulfilment of their difficult duties, he said that practical experience of commission in contact with local conditions had led to rejection of plebiscite idea. Turning to commission's conclusions, he pointed out they implied question whether British Government were prepared to undertake towards League conditions subject to which commission recommended that whole disputed area up to Brussels line should remain part of Iraq. Neither British nor Iraq Government could be expected to accept without reservation commission's views regarding stability of Iraq State, or suggestion that predominant motive of majority of population of disputed area in desiring attachment to Iraq was desire for effective control under mandate. Conception of mandate in its original form was not popular among people of Iraq, who regarded it as implying tutelage inconsistent with their existing measure of independence. Dealing with commission's suggested period of twenty five years, Amery pointed out that this figure was obviously tentative, and precise period during which State could consolidate its position and develop its resources could not be definitely laid down beforehand. British Government in accepting responsibility towards League for continuance of stable and progressive government in Iraq were in no sense departing from their declared policy of using their good offices to secure

[illegible]

*Congrat London to Mr. Wellesley (Received September 4.)*

Geneva, September 3, 1925

FOLLOWING from Secretary of State —

\* For general sense of statement by Secretary of State for the Colonies in presenting to Council British case regarding Irak frontier see summary already telegraphed by Steward to News Department for issue by wireless. In my opinion Mr Amery's admirable speech met with a most favourable reception.



" Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs in a long statement this afternoon made an ingenious attempt to misrepresent commission's report as generally favourable to Turkish claims, quoting various passages apart from their context and introducing lengthy extracts from reports by Turkish assessor to Turkish Government. He made great play with conclusions of commission regarding legal sovereignty, and rebuked commission for exceeding its functions by introducing issue of duration of mandate.

" To-morrow morning Turkish and British delegates will present to Council rejoinders to opening statements made to-day. Question will then probably be referred to a sub-committee for examination in detail."

(Repeated to Constantinople and Bagdad.)

#### No. 19

Consul London to Mr. Wellesley — (Received September 4.)

(No. 283)

(Telegraphic) En clair

STEWART for Koppel —

Geneva, September 4, 1925

Amery, morning's Council meeting, refuted arguments Turks, which largely consisted passages taken from commissioners' report, which, divorced from relative passage, gave impression contrary to main conclusions. Pointed out that Turkey claimed change in existing state affairs, but that would be to make it easier to administer and defend, thus permitting reduction armaments and release of funds for country's development. Existing situation is, country enjoying better more peaceful government than for many years. Amery said that if Turkey gave autonomy Kurds, if handed over. Replying this afternoon, Turks declined answer question as to Kurdish autonomy and also omitted to reaffirm pledge to accept decision League. Council went into secret committee, Amery and Turkish delegates attending.

#### No. 20

Sir R. Lindsay to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received September 4.)

(No. 115)

(Telegram to)

Constantinople, September 4, 1925

WAD telegram No. 472 to Colonial Office

Turkish public and press show much nervousness, which is increased by foolish actions. Nor will postponement of League's decision for a fortnight help matters.

If you wish, I could inform Turkish Government of contemplated reinforcements at Rowanduz, but I should get no answer from them, as they would be reluctant to say either "yes" or "no". It seems to me that I had better tell them of what is contemplated, and Irak authorities should decide strictly according to local merits.

(Repeated to Bagdad.)

#### No. 21

Consul London to Mr. Wellesley — (Received September 5)

(No. 286)

(Telegraphic) R.

Geneva, September 4, 1925

AT Council this morning Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs was invited to reply to Mr. Amery's statement of yesterday, but said he felt it unnecessary to add anything. Mr. Amery's arguments had strengthened his conviction regarding justice of Turkey's claim. Turkey had renounced sovereignty over mandated territory of Syria by Angora Agreement, confirmed by Treaty of Lausanne, and over Turkish provinces to the south of the disputed area by that

treaty. Turkey's interests were not affected by system of government in those districts to which she wished peace and prosperity. As regards protection of minorities, he could not consent to discuss this question, which was not in dispute at all. British Government were apparently proposing to modify minorities clauses in Treaty of Lausanne, which was a dangerous adventure.

Mr. Amery then answered in detail Turkish statement of yesterday afternoon. He criticised Turkish method of taking certain passages in commission's report out of their context and of quoting from Turkish assessor's diaries. He showed, with numerous illustrations, that result of this method had been to ignore or misrepresent final conclusions of commission under several heads. He pointed out that British claim was not aggressive but only for a slight rectification of existing provisional frontier, such as would simplify administration, facilitate defence of the country and settlement of Assyrians, and reduce expenditure. He repeated his previous assurance that His Majesty's Government would accept whatever decision might be reached by Council. He said that in the event of a decision in favour of his Government, similar assurance given to Council by Fethi Bey last year. He laid special stress on point that it was Turkish, not British, claim which would involve a departure from existing system of restoration of territory to alien sovereignty against wishes and interests of population and possible menace to peace of the Near East.

After short and ineffective rejoinder by Turkish delegate, who ignored Mr. Amery's request for renewed assurance that Turkey would accept decision of Council, it was decided in short private session to appoint sub-committee of three (as at Brussels last October) to examine and report to Council.

(Repeated to Constantinople and Bagdad.)

#### No. 22

Consul London to Mr. Wellesley — (Received September 5)

(No. 287)

(Telegraphic) R.

Geneva, September 5, 1925

FOLLOWING from Secretary of State for Cabinet —

" Amery's presentation of British case has throughout been very able and has impressed Council favourably as far as I can judge. He will return here Tuesday or Wednesday to watch committee's proceedings."

#### No. 23

Mr. Wellesley (for the Secretary of State) to Sir R. Lindsay (Constantinople).

(No. 117)

(Telegraphic) R.

Foreign Office, September 5, 1925

WAD telegram No. 472 to Secretary of State for Cabinet. On 4th Sept. you received information of incursions of Sayyid Abdullah and followers into Turkish territory at Shapatan and in Shemsdinan.

You may inform Turkish Government that it has been ascertained that followers of Sayyid Abdullah who recently made incursion into Turkish territory in Shemsdinan did not concentrate in Irak territory for that purpose. In view, however, of the importance of ensuring that Irak territory is not utilised as a base for attacks on Turkish territory, it is proposed to send a force of Assyrian levies to the frontier in the neighbourhood of Rowanduz, where no military posts are at present established.

You may inform Turkish Government that the force intended to secure peace of frontier will not be misinterpreted by Turks or form subject of further accusations.

(Addressed to Constantinople, No. 117. Repeated to Bagdad No. 15.)



Mr Addison to Mr Austen Chamberlain (Geneva).—(Repeated to Foreign Office, Received September 6.)

(No 825)

(Telegraphic.) R.

Berlin, September 5, 1925

THE TURKISH Ambassador yesterday addressed a demonstration of Turks assembled outside the Turkish Embassy on question of Mosul. Speaking from his balcony, he made a long speech, during which he stated that Turkey would not recognise any frontier imposed by England, or even by League of Nations, and that he hoped that a plebiscite would be held under auspices of a commission of neutrals, result of which could not fail to be favourable to Turkey.

No. 25

Consul London to Mr. Wellesley.—(Received September 6)

(No 248)

(Telegraphic.)

Geneva, September 6, 1925

FOLLOWING from Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to First Lord of the Admiralty and for Cabinet circulation —

"Reference Turkish complaints of action of British fleet, and Sir R. Keyes's

answer.

"It is of course true that attitude of Turkish Government is quite unreasonable and that their object is to create trouble and to prejudice the consideration of British case by Council, but for this very reason it is clearly our interest not only to give them no cause but also to leave them no excuse for such allegations. I cannot help feeling that Admiral scarcely appreciates importance of this consideration. You will at once realise how much more difficult Amery's task will be made if there is any repetition of an incident which cannot be altogether satisfactorily explained, or which even seems to Council to require explanation. I beg that utmost caution may be enjoined on Admiral. His view of what Turkish Government would do if it were wise is no doubt sound, but as Turkish Government do not see their interests in the same light, and as wisdom is not the chief characteristic of their policy, it is not helpful at this moment.

No. 26

Consul London to High Commissioner, Bagdad.—(Repeated to Foreign Office, Received September 7)

(No. 280.)

(Telegraphic.)

Geneva, September 6, 1925.

FOLLOWING from Secretary of State for the Colonies —

"Sub-committee is now studying documents and will commence taking evidence on Wednesday. I am having detailed memorandum prepared on strategical and administrative merits of our proposed frontier as compared with Brussels line and also on Assyrian question. I should be glad to hear any fresh arguments which may have occurred to you on perusal of Frontier Commission's report. What is your and Air Officer Commanding's opinion as to saving in strength of military and police forces which would result from the adoption of our line as opposed to Brussels line? Do you adhere to successive alternative frontiers put forward in your despatch, Secret, of 18th October, 1923. It may of course be necessary at some stage to indicate that we would be satisfied with something less than our full claim, though I do not propose to do this at present."

(Repeated to Foreign Office for Colonial Office and Air Ministry.)

No. 27

Mr Addison (No 15) to Consul London (Geneva).—(Repeated to Foreign Office, Received September 7)

(No 826)

(Telegraphic.) R.

Berlin, September 7, 1925

FOLLOWING for Secretary of State

"Your unnumbered telegram of 6th September

"Following is translation of German text of Turkish Ambassador's reference to League which was published in 'Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung':—

"The Turkish people are totally unwilling to recognise any frontiers in

knows only one frontier, namely, that which divides Turkish population from foreign races. The Turkish people place their hope in decision of League of Nations, but should their inviolable rights not be recognised they are determined to have recourse to all possible means for attainment of their national claims, including in the last resort a recourse to armed force."

"Member of Embassy staff happened to be a witness of demonstration, but could not, of course, understand speech which was delivered in Turkish.

"Copy of 'Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung' of 6th September, morning edition, despatched to-day."

No. 28

Sir R. Lindsay to Mr Wellesley.—(Received September 8.)

(No. 116)

"DECLARATIONS of Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs at Geneva may well be ineffective in Europe, but they are telegraphed at length here and are having the effect of envenoming the situation. Press clings to the thesis of no compromise with all the unanimity inevitable under the present régime, and is undoubtedly working up the public, including the military class, to a state of excitement. There are no signs of any desire on the part of Turkish Government to prevent matters from becoming a serious crisis, but it is quite strong enough to face the inevitable disappointment of Turkish public with relative equanimity if it wishes to.

It is reported here that there is some divergence of views at Angora between Prime Minister and President, former being more in favour of moderation. Confirmation is to be found in the nomination of a man like Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to represent Turkish Government at Geneva. This is an unpleasant

I hear that Russian influence has for some weeks been on the increase. This is a natural result of any estrangement from His Majesty's Government, which, however, it tends to increase. On general grounds, while confident that Russian Government desires bad blood between Turkey and Great Britain, I doubt their wishing for an actual breach.

French Ambassador has, I believe, telegraphed urging his Government to seek some sort of compromise over Mosul between Turkish Government and His Majesty's Government.

(Repeated to Geneva, No. 3.)

No. 29

Consul London to Mr Wellesley.—(Received September 10)

(No 295)

(Telegraphic.) R.

Geneva, September 9, 1925

FOLLOWING from Secretary of State for Cabinet and all Departments concerned —

"With reference to my report of meeting of Cabinet Ministers now in Geneva on Mosul question, sent by bag to-night, further information has led us to modify our decision. Full report will be sent by to-morrow's bag."



Consul London to Mr. Wellesley — (Received September 11)

(No. 301)

(Telegraphic)

Geneva, September 10 1925

FOLLOWING for King, Cabinet and Dominions —

Following from Secretary of State for Colonies:—

"Sub-committee will hear British case to-morrow. Cause of delay is understood to be disquieting effect produced upon Swedish chairman and Uruguayan member by Turkish legal arguments. These are said to be summarised under two main heads:—

First Turkish acceptance in advance of League's decision was given in circumstances which pointed to early termination of British connection with Iraq and new element now introduced by commission's recommendation for prolongation of Iraq Treaty is said to modify or even cancel Turkish assurance of last year.

Secondly, Turks maintain that it is beyond competence of Council to insist upon fixing frontier upon any conditions such as those recommended in report. Turks are said to have threatened reference of these points to Permanent Court of International Justice in the event of League giving decision unfavourable to them, and have announced that if partition is decided upon they will abandon these legal arguments. While remaining unconvinced that either of these points has any real weight, I thought it desirable to consult Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Cecil last night in the light of serious warning received by me that majority of sub-committee would inevitably head for their doubts on legal aspect could be finally allayed. It had been suggested to me that in order to forestall Turkish action it might be politic for me, after laying our legal case before sub-committee, to volunteer to refer the two points to Permanent Court of International Justice if sub-committee remained in any doubt. After careful and prolonged discussion with my two colleagues we arrived at the conclusion that while it would be wise to accept reference to international court rather than to allow sub-committee to drift into a thoroughly vicious conclusion such as Lower Zab line, it was not yet sufficiently established that this was to be anticipated. It seemed to us that to volunteer reference to international court on mere hearsay rumour that sub-committee were deeply impressed by arguments which appear to have been presented to them informally and not to be included in their official statement and which appear easily capable of refutation, would be a sign of weakness and would encourage Turks to redouble their efforts to frighten Council by vague threats of non-acceptance. I shall accordingly pursue my original plan of presenting arguments for (I modified) frontier before sub-committee to-morrow after first dealing with Turkish written rejoinder to my last speech. I shall then invite Sir C. Hurst to argue legal points but shall make no mention of reference to international court unless this appears inevitable owing to attitude of sub-committee. We are fully conscious of administrative and other objections to delay involved in this reference but these must be faced if alternative is decision that disputed territory should be partitioned."

(Repeated to Constantinople and Bagdad)

Consul London to Mr. Wellesley — (Received September 12)

(No. 302)

(Telegraphic)

Geneva, September 12 1925

FOLLOWING from Secretary of State for the Colonies for Colonial Office

"I attended meetings of sub-committee this morning and afternoon partly in order to further our claims for a better strategical and administrative frontier and answer questions on various points, but more particularly to clear up legal question of competence of Council to attach conditions or take note of declarations made with regard to future policy before fixing frontier. On this

issue Sir Cecil Hurst made full statement which undoubtedly impressed the sub-committee. At the end of the proceedings I laid stress on our anxiety that there should be no doubt on this point in conversations, and added that I would be willing, if sub-committee after further debating Sir C. Hurst's statement still felt there was any doubt, to do anything possible to help to remove it. The sub-committee informed me that they would let us know about this in a day or two. They know that my undertaking implied willingness to agree to reference to Permanent Court."

(Repeated to Constantinople and Bagdad)

Sir R. Lansing to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received September 14)

(No. 602)

Sir,

Therapia September 8, 1925

I REGRET to report that since the 25th August the date of my despatch No. 460, the tone of the Turkish press on the subject of the Iraq frontier has altered in a notable change of excitement.

The Turkish press has been for some time past, and is now more than ever, in a state of excitement. It is not only the Turkish press but the Turkish public which is in a state of excitement. The Turkish public is in a state of excitement because of the fact that the Turkish Government has decided to refer the question of the Iraq frontier to the League of Nations. The Turkish Government has decided to refer the question of the Iraq frontier to the League of Nations because of the fact that the Turkish Government has decided to refer the question of the Iraq frontier to the League of Nations. The Turkish Government has decided to refer the question of the Iraq frontier to the League of Nations because of the fact that the Turkish Government has decided to refer the question of the Iraq frontier to the League of Nations.

is having Turkey put under a mandate. Yet from this Embassy it looks as if the fixing of a frontier line is the only point with which Turkey is concerned, and that she has nothing to do with the régime that may be established to the south of the line when fixed. Of course, the position of Great Britain as a trustee of the mandate principle of the mandatory system is completely ignored, and the fact that she is unable to give away territory and rights which she only holds as a depositary is ascribed to mere imperialism and land grabbing and contrasted with the Turkish case based in spite of the League's Sub-Commission's Report on the inviolable desire of the Moslems to revert to Turkish sovereignty and on the necessity of securing a frontier which will guarantee Turkey against aggression.

3. What Turkish newspapers may write really matters only in reference to the inferences that we may draw from their attitude and to the consequences that may ensue. It would be going too far to say that the local press only writes what the Government wishes it to write but it is perfectly legitimate, under the present régime of repression to maintain that no paper would dare give currency to opinions that are displeasing to Ankara, and we must inevitably conclude that the Turkish



authorities are not averse to seeing public opinion systematically prepared for a... I do not think that any paper, any more than any Turkish Minister, has actually said that Turkey will refuse to be bound by a decision adverse to herself, but it is dinned into the ears of newspaper readers that the Turkish case for Mosul is absolutely coincident with the conceptions of abstract justice, and that injustice may lead to war. The newspaper reading public, and especially the important class of army officers, are being wrought up to a regrettable degree of exaltation.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner at Bagdad and to the British delegation at Geneva.

I have, Sir,  
R. C. LINDSAY

No. 33

Consul London to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 15)

(No. 334)  
(Telegraphic)

Geneva, September 14, 1925

FOLLOWING from Mr. Amery:—

"Turks have now urged, basing themselves on discovery of an unfortunate statement made by Lord Curzon at Lausanne in January 1923, that they will accept a decision of Council in which they themselves concur. In view of effect this appears to have had in increasing irresolution of sub-committee, who are, I understand, going to lay their doubts before an informal meeting of members of Council exclusive of British or Turks, I have to-day addressed a letter to M. Undén pointing out that when I made my statement to Council it was on the assumption that matter had been referred to Council as an arbitrator whose decision both parties had accepted in advance and who was entitled to impose any conditions that he thought fit or take note of assurances. Since both competence of Council and character of decision to be given have been called in question I felt bound to ask sub-committee whether they could give me a definite assurance that situation is as I understood it to be when I submitted my case to Council, adding that if sub-committee felt any doubt as to their ability to give such an assurance I would suggest that an authoritative opinion on both points in doubt should be sought without delay from Permanent Court of International Justice."

(Repeated to Constantinople and Bagdad)

No. 34

Consul London (No. 9) to High Commissioner, Bagdad.—(Repeated to Foreign Office, Received September 17)

(No. 326)  
(Telegraphic)

Geneva, September 16, 1925

FOLLOWING from Mr. Amery:—

"In reply to my protest based on your telegrams Nos. 501, 505 and 509 Turkish representative has informed Council that he is referring to his Government, though incidents complained of appear to him most unlikely. He complains of detachments of 200 men each at Zakho, Dobuk, Amudiah and Zant with eight mountain batteries. Also of continual passage of convoys of ammunition being sent to Zakho, recruiting of fresh troops and restrictions on movement of villagers from one village to another. Please telegraph your observations urgently. Figure of 8,000 Syrian Christians certainly seems high. From what actual district are they said to have been deported?"

(Repeated to Constantinople, No. 10.)

Consul London to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 18)

(No. 334)  
(Telegraphic)

Geneva, September 18, 1925

FOLLOWING from Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

An informal meeting of members of Council yesterday afternoon discussed, in the absence of British and Turkish representatives, question of procedure as to whether Council should be asked to appoint an arbitrator or a mediator, and session becomes automatic on announcement of Council's decision.

Secondly, whether submission of parties has been to Council as an arbitrator or as mediator.

Thirdly, whether, if Council is arbitrator, it can decide by majority like [omitted] any other body of arbitrators or is bound by ordinary rules of its procedure under Covenant. Question of competence to take note of assurances of parties is apparently not to be raised, as all were agreed that there could be no doubt of Council's right to do so. Sub-committee will accordingly draft a report recommending reference to Permanent Court on these points, which will be presented to formal meeting of Council to-morrow afternoon.

I understand that though question of merits was not discussed to any extent yesterday, but for M. Undén Council would [omitted] in coming to a decision in favour of commission's main recommendation that country up to Brussels line should remain with Iraq. M. Undén apparently is determined that he is a mediator and that he is bound to give Turks half of what they ask. The others hope that even if The Hague should not decide that majority is sufficient its decision on arbitral character of Council in this matter may influence M. Undén sufficiently to make him withdraw from position which would prevent any conclusion being reached by the Council and so gravely [omitted] League.

"This postpones an actual decision till [1 December], but serious inconveniences of delay will have been worth while if reasonable settlement is reached. Meanwhile, sub-committee will go on taking evidence for a few days longer, and I may have to stay here till Wednesday."

(Repeated to Constantinople and Bagdad)

No. 36

Consul London to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 20)

(No. 340)  
(Telegraphic) R

Geneva, September 19, 1925

FOLLOWING from Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

Following is text of resolution passed by Council this afternoon:—

Council of League of Nations, having been seized of question of frontier between Turkey and Iraq by application of article 3, paragraph 2, of Treaty of Lausanne, decides for purpose of elucidating certain points of law to request Permanent Court of International Justice to give an advisory opinion on following questions:—

1. What is character of decision to be taken by Council in virtue of article 3, paragraph 2, of Treaty of Lausanne? Is it an arbitral award, a recommendation or a simple mediation?
2. Must decision be unanimous or may it be taken by a majority?
3. May representatives of interested parties take part in vote?

Permanent Court is requested to examine these questions, if possible, in an extraordinary session.

Council requests Governments of Great Britain and Turkey to be at the disposal of Court for the purpose of furnishing it with all relevant documents or information. It has the honour to transmit to Court minutes of meetings of

[14008]



Council at which question of frontier between Turkey and Irak has been examined

authorized to submit present request to court together with all relevant documents, to explain to court action taken by Council in the to give all assistance necessary in examination of question, and if try to take steps to be represented before court

(Repeated to Constantinople and Bagdad)

No 37

London (No 13) to High Commissioner, Bagdad — (Repeated to Foreign Office, Received September 22)

(18)

J. R.

Geneva, September 21, 1925

FOLLOWING from Secretary of State for the Colonies

On 17th September Turkish representative informed Council that he had received communication from his Government to the effect that allegations relative to deportation of Christians in any part whatever of Turkey were absolutely devoid of foundation

Contents of your telegram No 518 to London and first paragraph of part 2 were communicated by me to Council on 19th September. I have now asked for special meeting of Council to be held on 23rd September to consider question of deportation of Christians. I have pointed out that deportations south of Brussels line are unquestionably violation of article 3 of Treaty of Lausanne, and those between Brussels line and His Majesty's Government's line are regarded by us as equally culpable. I have invited Council to send such representative or representatives to the locality of the Brussels line as may be required for the purpose of investigating, so far as possible, the charges already made by both Governments as to alleged violations of *status quo* and of reporting immediately to Council in the event of any similar occurrence in the future. I have assured Council that His Majesty's Government and Irak Government would welcome the presence of such representative on their side of the Brussels line and would afford him every assistance. Any additional material you can furnish for the meeting on 23rd September will be useful

(Repeated to Constantinople)

No 38

Consul London (No 15) to High Commissioner, Bagdad — (Repeated to Foreign Office, Received September 23)

(No 302)

J.

Geneva, September 23, 1925

FOLLOWING from Mr. Amery —

In his letter of the 22nd September Turkish representative repeats statement that no deportation of Christians has taken place from districts of Gök and Göven, nor from other parts of the country to these districts. He adds that Turkish post at Shetkh Yusuf, south of and quite near Hill 2072 west of Hazi, in the district of Slup, has been attacked by six Iraqi soldiers. Turkish post having repined to assailants' fire, latter withdrew and subsequently were in the wrong and had attacked Turkish post in error

Council meeting has been postponed till afternoon of

I shall be glad of your observations as soon as possible

(Repeated to Constantinople)

No 39

Consul London to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received September 24)

No 355

(Telegraphic) R

Geneva, September 24, 1925

FOLLOWING from Secretary of State for the Colonies —

I have agreed to 24th October for special session of Permanent Court of International Justice to deal with Irak frontier question and have undertaken to file memorandum with necessary paper by 21st October. I

trust that Sir C. Harist should undertake presentation of our case, and hope that you will be able to agree. Sir C. Harist is telegraphing separately

(Repeated to Bagdad and Constantinople)

No 40

Consul London to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received September 25)

No 358

(Telegraphic) R

Geneva, September 24, 1925

FOLLOWING from Secretary of State for Colonies —

At to-day's public Council meeting following on prolonged secret session *rapporteur* of sub-committee read out report and resolution giving effect to our proposal for appointment of a representative to investigate situation on Tared Irak frontier. After I had accepted, Rushdy, who had originally declared he would not accept or even attend Council, read out a continued and involved statement accepting on condition that there should be a Turkish assessor and that investigation should go into the whole situation at the time of Treaty of Lausanne and every frontier incident since. His denial that anything north of Brussels line is disputed territory and his assertion that anything which have happened there can only be dealt with as a minority question under entirely different investigation left it, however, quite uncertain whether he accepted reference to his side of the border at all and no questioning from me extracted anything from him except evasive replies so obviously embarrassed as to provoke a general titter

In the end he said that he would consult his Government, and I fear I must now wait here for reply and a possible further Council meeting on Saturday. If they accept investigation on their side of the border we may have to agree to a certain amount of historical enquiry and to a Turkish assessor though I made it clear latter would have to be one approved by us and conditional on our assessor also being free to go on Turkish side of frontier, and that former must not be allowed to divert League representative from practical business in hand. If they refuse, then naturally Turkish stipulations including assessor fail to the ground

(Repeated to Constantinople and Bagdad)

No 41

Consul London to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received September 26)

(No 361)

(Telegraphic) R

Geneva, September 25, 1925

FOLLOWING from Secretary of State for the Colonies —

M. Louchet informed me this afternoon that Rushdy Bey is going back to Angora for further instructions as to proposed League representative on Tared Irak frontier, but that Council would in any case appoint its representative on Monday and let him get to work on our side of boundary whether Turkish Government subsequently agrees to his investigating on Turkish side or not. I pointed out to him that in latter event there could be no question of Turkish

[14003]



assessor or of any Turkish suggestions or stipulations as to conduct of enquiries M. Loucheur agreed. I understood from him that name likely to be suggested on Monday is that of Roddolo, who acted as secretary to Irak Commission, and who would, I assume, be quite satisfactory."

(Repeated to Constantinople and Bagdad)

#### No. 42

Consul London to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received September 28)

General, September 28, 1923

"Irak

"Council in secret session today appointed General Laidoner League Commissioner to supervise Brussels frontier. Two adjoints will be given him, of whom one might be Czech colonel, the other to be named by Committee of Three and approved by acting president of the Council. Two others, officers or officials, would be adj. to secretary.

"It was expressly understood that General Laidoner was to be in full and sole responsibility. Please inform Secretary of State for the Colonies."

#### No. 43

Consul General Beirut to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received September 29)

(No. 46)

(Telegraphic)

Beirut, September 29, 1923

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry —

Considerable easterly troop movements reported between Adana and Chirsa. No details or confirmation. No movements by rail. ~~Southern~~ ~~relieved~~ on 24th September. It was burnt and evacuated by ~~contingent~~ ~~garrison~~, who returned to Munsie on 26th September. Further operations intended based on Munsie.

(Repeated to Palestine and Bagdad)

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#### No. 44

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the Mosul Question at the League of Nations

FOR some time before the meeting of the Council to consider the question of the Turco-Iraq frontier it was becoming increasingly evident that the Turks had decided to conduct their case on aggressive and truculent lines. At the end of June a series of preposterous and wholly unfounded complaints were circulated to the members of the Council by the Turkish Government to the effect that persons venturing to express pro-Turkish sympathies before the Frontier Commission had been molested by the British and Iraq authorities, that immediately after the departure of the Commission wholesale reprisals began against those who declared for Turkey, that these persons were pressed to sign manifestos going back on their previous declarations, and that those who refused to do so were imprisoned, and that there had been a series of bombardments by the British Air Force as a reprisal for pro-Turkish demonstrations in the frontier region. At the same time the first steps were taken in an aggressive policy along the present frontier, involving not only the occupation of several villages on the Iraq side of the frontier and the deportation or hurried flight of their inhabitants, but also the systematic clearing out of the ~~territory~~ ~~the north of the frontier~~. This latter policy was actually put into full effect in the week immediately following the opening of the Session of the Council.

It was apparently as a smoke-screen to cover these impending operations that the Turkish Foreign Minister, Dr. Tewfik Rushdy, opened his Geneva campaign

with the request that, before any other business was dealt with, the Council should allow him to draw attention to the serious situation created by an alleged recent series of violations of the Iraq frontier by the Iraq authorities and by the menacing demonstrations conducted by the Mediterranean Fleet against the coasts of Asia Minor. These complaints, devoid of any basis of fact or even of inherent credibility, provided a thoroughly characteristic opening for the new Turkish representative at the first meeting of the Council, which took place on the 3rd September.

We had already been warned by Sir R. Landsay, our Ambassador at Constantinople, that the sending of Dr. Tewfik Rushdy was to be regarded as a victory for the extremists as against the more moderate views favoured by Ismet Pasha, and I have since learned from other sources that this wild young man, who studied revolutionary methods under Lenin, came to Geneva determined to convey to the League and the world in general that he was one of those men of destiny whom nothing could ever turn back from a policy he had once decided on, and that the gravest consequences were to be feared if Turkey did not get full satisfaction for her demands. His controversial methods, I was told, consisted of bold assertions and ingenious and

I had plenty of opportunity of verifying the accuracy of these descriptions. These qualities were combined with a striking physiognomy not so much Turkish as Hittite: a flat forehead, continued by scanty hair brushed straight back, receding so markedly as to make an actual angle with the deeper line of the nose, snaked horn rimmed

Having dealt briefly with the Turkish charges I proceeded to make my opening statement. Knowing that the Turk had been freely hinting in various quarters that he would not regard himself as bound by any decision he disliked, I began by laying

accepted in advance the decision of the Council. I then disposed of the legal point as to the continuance of Turkish sovereignty which the Frontier Commission had, in a rather misleading fashion, included among the political considerations affecting the situation, and which I notice, has since been used by certain critics at home as

justified. I pointed out that while it might be technically correct to say that the disputed territory was still Turkish, in so far as the formal renunciation of Turkish

went, by the Treaty of Lausanne, had bound themselves to renounce sovereignty over whatever part of it lay on the Iraq side of the frontier ultimately fixed by the Council. After referring briefly to the work of the Commission and the difficulties which it had necessarily encountered in Iraq, I quoted the conclusion arrived at by the Commissioners that a plebiscite was impossible, and then proceeded to recapitulate, without comment or criticism, the final conclusions in the Report, leading up to the main final conclusion that the balance of the various considerations, particularly those

mouth of the Brussels line, subject to the continuance for some twenty five years of "the effective mandate of the League" and to certain concessions to local and racial sentiment in the Kurdish districts.

I pointed out that this main recommendation implied a question addressed to the League of Nations to maintain the conditions subject to which the Commission recommended that the whole of the disputed area up to the Brussels line should remain part of Iraq. After drawing a distinction between mandatory control and the treaty relation which was approved last year by the Council of the League, and which was clearly the relation intended in the Commission's reference to the

in advance the precise period during which the Iraq State could consolidate its position and develop its resources. Subject to these explanations, I said, in accordance with the Cabinet conclusions of the 7th August that His Majesty's Government were prepared before the expiration in 1928 of the present treaty, to give effect to the provision contained in the protocol of that treaty by replacing it by a treaty of longer duration which would safeguard throughout the kingdom of Iraq those conditions of stable government and reasonable consideration for local interests, subject to which the Commissioners considered that the territory south of

prepared to continue their responsibility towards the League of Nations in this



respect until such time, within the limit of twenty five years suggested by the Commissioners, as the Council of the League was clearly convinced that those conditions of stability which the Commissioners postulated were definitely and permanently secured. I read out a resolution passed by the Iraqi Parliament only two days before, to the effect that the Iraqi nation declared its strong friendship for Great Britain and expressed its desire to continue an alliance with her after the expiry of the present treaty. I also gave an assurance that the existing administrative system in the Kurdish areas, which does to a large extent carry out the recommendations of the Commission, would be continued and made even more

I then dealt at some length, and in strong terms, with the grave objections to the alternative suggestion, which had not, indeed, been recommended by the Commissioners on their own responsibility, but merely hinted at by them, namely, that the territory south of the Brussels line might be partitioned between Turkey and Iraq. I made it clear in this connection that the League could not expect the British Government or the British taxpayer to make themselves responsible for the military

beyond the capacity of Iraq itself. The rest of my statement was taken up by an exposition of the strategical and other arguments for the British case for a slight rectification of the frontier up to the crest of the main mountain range, in which I laid special stress on the necessity for ensuring a satisfactory settlement of the Assyrian problem. I also added that I accepted the Commission's recommendation

the Turkish Government would similarly accept them in Turkish territory, and that the League would be prepared, in spite of the obvious administrative objections, to make an experiment in this direction. I said, in conclusion, that the only concern of His Majesty's Government was to safeguard both the interests of the populations directly concerned and the development and progress of the young nation for whose welfare they had, under the League of Nations, made themselves responsible. His Majesty's Government were convinced that the fulfilment of that responsibility and the attainment of the objects in view could only be adequately ensured by the acceptance of the frontier claim which they had themselves put forward. Any less satisfactory frontier would present serious disadvantages. I impressed upon the Council the immense importance of arriving at a final solution during the present session of the Council, and concluded, as I had begun, by repeating the assurance given last year by Lord Parmoor that whatever decision the Council might come to His Majesty's Government would loyally accept it.

At the afternoon session on the same day, Dr. Rushdy gabbled through a long and rambling statement, in which he made an ingenious attempt to misrepresent the Commission's report as generally favourable to the Turkish claims, quoting various passages apart from their context and introducing lengthy extracts from the totally irrelevant reports submitted to his own Government by the Turkish assessor with the

regarding legal sovereignty, and rebuked them for exceeding their functions by introducing the issue of the duration of the mandate.

On the 4th September, at the morning session, the Turkish representative made a very brief and ineffective reply to my statement of the preceding day, in which the only point worth noting was a refusal to comment to the discussion of the question of the protection of minorities. I then proceeded to deal in detail with his statement of the preceding afternoon. In reply to his suggestion that British claims were continually advancing, and that all that Turkey asked for was security, I laid special stress on the point that it was the Turkish, and not the British, claim which, if accepted, would cause a menace to the peace of the Near East, as it would involve a

restoration of a now well governed territory to an alien sovereignty, against the wishes and interests of the population. I repeated my previous assurance that His Majesty's Government would accept whatever decision the Council might give, and asked whether the Turkish delegate could renew on behalf of his Government the similar assurance given to the Council last year by Bethy Boy. Dr. Rushdy made a brief rejoinder, evaded my question whether he would give any undertaking that the Kurdish elements in the disputed area would, if they were given back to Turkey, be granted a measure of autonomy, such as they enjoyed at present, and he ignored my request for a renewed assurance that Turkey would accept the decision of the Council. I was in some doubt whether to repeat my challenge on this latter point,

but was induced by M. Briand, the President, to say nothing at the moment, as he proposed to draw attention to it himself at the private session, which followed immediately afterwards, and appointed a sub-committee of three members, who were to consider the whole question in detail and report to the Council. As a matter of fact, all that M. Briand did was, at the end of the meeting, in a hurried undertone, to remind both parties that the had placed their cause solemnly in the hands of the League of Nations, of which the Council formed a part, and that they were awaiting from the Council that justice which it would endeavour to grant them.

As my colleagues will have seen from the memorandum (C.P. 403.25) circulated by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated the 9th September, I discussed with him and with Lord Cecil the same evening the desirability of calling the attention of the Secretary General in an official letter to the silence of the Turkish representative, and of refusing to attend the sub-committee or instructing my advisers to attend it, until I knew what steps the Council proposed to take to secure the necessary explicit assurance from Dr. Rushdy. We decided, for the reasons explained in the memorandum referred to, to take no action. Next morning we received a report from Berlin that the Turkish Ambassador had addressed a demonstration of Turks outside the Turkish Embassy on the previous day, and had said that Turkey would not recognise any frontier imposed by England or by the League of Nations. In a fuller report, received on the 7th September, it appeared that, in an interview with a correspondent of a German newspaper, he had added that the Turkish people placed their hope in the decision of the League of Nations, but, should their inviolable rights not be recognised there, were determined to have recourse to all possible means for the attainment of their national claims, including, in the last resort, a recourse to armed force. A report was also received from Constantinople on the 7th September to the effect that the declarations of Dr. Rushdy at Geneva were envenoming the situation in Turkey, and that the press was undoubtedly working up the public, including the military class, to a state of excitement. My colleagues will have seen from the memorandum referred to that the position was again discussed with Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Cecil on the 9th September. Our view was that the time had not arrived to attempt to extract a further assurance from the Turkish representative, and that, failing some more definite indication on the part of the Turkish Government that they intended to repudiate the assurance given last year by Bethy Boy, it would not be politic for me to take any further steps in the matter.

Meanwhile, the Sub-Committee, consisting of Dr. Liden, M. Guinones de Leon and M. Guani, the Swedish, Spanish and Uruguayan members of the Council, had been holding its preliminary meetings at which it heard separately the three members of the Frontier Commission. All of them, I understand, impressed upon the Sub-Committee, in far more definite terms than those employed in their Report, the necessity of

to remain in Iraq. There would, I believe, have been no difficulty in securing an early report of the Sub-Committee, and consequently also of the Council, in favour of our claim, as far at any rate as the present frontier is concerned, but for the extraordinary position taken up by Dr. Liden, who, owing to M. Hanting's death had succeeded to the Chairmanship of the Sub-Committee. Dr. Liden, a young Professor of Law, with bushy eyebrows, great obstinacy, and an abysmal incapacity even to conceive that the conditions of Asia are not exactly the same as those of Europe, appears to have led the Council into a series of errors.

the line of the Lesser Zab. As far as I have been able to gather from his statements and from a memorandum which he circulated to all the Council, except myself

incidentally with no intention of that kind, I am convinced that his main ideas may be summed up as follows: The Turks had the country before the war

to itself if pushed back to the Lesser Zab line could easily be disposed of by economic and military guarantees (I am informed that he himself suggested the idea of a 'Pact of the Three Seas'). On the other hand, the Turkish claims, unascertainable and not a matter of any consequence, in any event, the business of the Council was to mediate and compromise, and as the English were ready to accept anything and the Turks were not, it was necessary to give them a good deal.



In the first instance however, it would seem that Dr Undén's method of procedure was to endeavour to alarm his colleagues on the Sub Committee by suggesting Professor of Law that the Turkish legal arguments against the competence of the Council to introduce conditions, such as the prolongation of the Treaty relation in respect of a territory still juridically Turkish, were so serious as to make a clear decision in favour of Iraq impossible, and that it was necessary

the Turks enough to make them waive their insistence on this aspect of the matter. It was reported to me that M. Giam, a gentle, courteous Iraqi, had been seriously impressed, and that the Sub Committee, overriding M. Quiroga de Leon, would inevitably recommend the partition of the disputed area unless their doubts on the legal aspect could be allayed. The suggestion was conveyed to me that it might be politic for me, after laying out my own legal case before the Sub Committee, to volunteer to refer the legal questions to the Permanent Court of International Justice, if the Sub Committee remained in any doubt. After careful and prolonged discussion with Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Cecil, we arrived at the conclusion that, while it would be wise to accept a reference to the International Court rather than to allow the Sub Committee to drift into a thoroughly vicious conclusion such as partition, it was not yet sufficiently established that they were in fact going to do this.

On the 11th September I attended meetings of the Sub Committee and the afternoon party to dispose of the misstatements and quibbles further long memorandum which the Turks had circulated as a somewhat belated rejoinder to my two speeches partly in order to elucidate further the British claim for a better administrative frontier and to answer questions on various points, but more particularly to clear up the legal question involved. This was, whether the Council was competent to attach conditions or to take note of declarations made with regard to future play before fixing a frontier. On this issue, as well as on the question of the legal sovereignty to which I have already referred Sir Cecil Hurst, who accompanied me, made a full statement which undoubtedly greatly impressed the Sub Committee. I did not at either of these meetings make any mention or reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice, but I said that I would be willing if the Sub Committee, after further study of Sir Cecil Hurst's statement, still felt that there was any doubt, to do nothing in my power to help to remove it. The Sub Committee knew that this undertaking implied my willingness to agree to a reference to The Hague.

Two days of inaction followed, during which I received reports from various sources that the position in the Sub Committee was becoming increasingly complicated. The Turks had brought forward an unfortunate statement made by Lord Curzon at Lausanne in January 1923, to the effect that a Council decision on the Mosul question would have to be unanimous, and that the Turks might therefore, as temporary members of the Council for the purpose of the dispute, not assent that no decision could be taken with which they did not themselves agree. The statement was, in fact, inaccurate in its reference to the procedure of the Council under the Covenant and was obviously superseded by the Lausanne Treaty itself, as well as by the definite undertaking of both parties last September to accept in advance the decision of the Council as an arbitrator. It seems, however, to have served to enable Dr. Undén to effect a certain change of front. I now received a verbal message from him that there really was no doubt whatever as to the legal competence of the Council to come to a decision. At the same time I gathered that M. Quiroga de Leon, who the day before had been in a position of the justice of our claim and determined not to be manoeuvred into a false position, was trying very hard to force Dr. Undén to settle first of all and explicitly in consultation with the Council if necessary, whether the Council was acting as arbitrator or only as a mediator, in order to avoid the situation which he was evidently endeavouring to keep up in which the Turks were to regard themselves as only dealing with a mediator, and free to reject any solution with which they might not agree, while we were to continue to believe ourselves bound to our pledge to accept the decision of the Council as an arbitrator.

Learning on the 14th September that the Sub Committee were meeting to discuss their doubts and to consider whether they should ask for a private meeting of the Council to resolve them, I thought it essential to help to bring matters to a head. I accordingly addressed a letter to Dr. Undén pointing out that when I made my original statement to the Council and renewed the assurance that His Majesty's Government accepted in advance whatever decision might be arrived at,

it was on the assumption that the matter had been referred to the Council as an arbitrator whose decision both parties had accepted in advance, and who was entitled to impose any conditions that might seem fit or to take note of assurances already given. Since both the competence of the Council and the character of the decision to be given had been called in question I felt bound to ask the Sub Committee whether they could give me a definite assurance that the situation was as I understood it to be when I submitted my case to the Council, adding that if the Sub Committee felt any doubt as to their ability to give such an assurance, I would suggest that an authoritative opinion on both points in doubt should be sought without delay from the Permanent Court of International Justice. I added that it was obviously difficult for His Majesty's Government to continue to submit a case without knowing in what capacity it was presenting it, or before what kind of tribunal.

This letter seems to have served its purpose in forcing Dr. Undén's hand. An informal meeting of the Council was held on the 16th at which neither I nor the Turkish representative attended. The discussion turned almost entirely on the issue of procedure, though I understood that a very strong speech on the merits was made in our favour by M. Benes, and that the general feeling was in the same direction. It was decided that the issue of legal competence was not really in doubt, but that there was real doubt as to the function of the Council, while a point, of which I had received no previous intimation, was also raised, namely, whether, if the Council was acting as an arbitrator, it still followed its normal procedure under the Covenant, which requires unanimity apart from the interested parties, or decided like any other panel of arbitrators by a majority. It was accordingly decided that certain questions should be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the Sub Committee proceeded to draft a report to this effect.

On the 19th September the full Council met again and Dr. Undén read the report of the Sub Committee, which recommended that the following questions should be referred to The Hague Court:

- (1) What is the character of the decision to be taken by the Council in virtue of article 3, paragraph 2, of the Treaty of Lausanne? Is it an arbitral award, a recommendation, or a simple mediation?
- (2) Must the decision be unanimous or may it be taken by a majority? May the representatives of the interested parties take part in the vote?

As soon as the report had been read, I made a statement to the Council in which I said that the postponement which would be involved if the Council accepted the Sub Committee's report was from the point of view of His Majesty's Government itself regrettable, firstly, because they had hoped to get as speedy a decision as possible, secondly, because any continued uncertainty would naturally involve administrative difficulties, and thirdly, because of the recent proceedings of the Turkish Government on the frontier. I related out that the first question to be put before the Permanent Court seemed to me to have been settled quite clearly at last year's meeting of the Council, at which Fethi Bey had agreed with Lord Curzon's view that the Treaty of Lausanne placed the Council in the position of an arbitrator whose award to award must be accepted in advance by both parties. It was on this understanding that Lord Curzon had pledged the British Government to accept in advance the decision of the Council, and no pledge that he had then given could be binding upon His Majesty's Government in any other but the same sense, and to exactly the same extent, to which it was binding upon the Turkish Government. But I added that it was essential from the point of view not only of the present arbitration to the Council, but of future submissions, that its function should be clearly defined, and no much as doubts had been raised in this regard I agreed that it should be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. I went on to say that doubts had also been raised as to the competence of the Council to take note of assurances given by either party, or to impose conditions before settling the frontier. I assured that the fact that this question was not one of those which was to be submitted to the Permanent Court implied that there was no doubt in the mind of the Council with regard to it. I laid stress on this point, insisting that it would obviously be an unsatisfactory position from the point of view of the League itself, as well as of both the Governments concerned, if after the postponement of an opinion by the Permanent Court on the questions submitted to it any further doubts could be raised which would give rise to further delay.

body then came out into the open. After some preliminary flourishes, repeated his categorical denial of the truth of the allegations concerning the treatment of Christians and dwelt on his efforts for peace and conciliation as evidenced by an offer which he apparently made to the Sub-Committee to allow Iraq to retain the Mosul district, and my plea that generous concession by the conclusion of a four Power Security Pact, and on the obstinate disregard by us of all the advances and all the efforts made by the Turks, he came to the business in hand. His view as to the task undertaken by the Council was perfectly clear. He regarded it as a mediating and not an arbitrating body. He based his contention partly on the difference between the wording of the original draft of article 3 of the Lausanne Treaty, which spoke of a decision of the League, and the final draft which spoke of a reference to the League, partly on Lord Curzon's unlucky statement to which I have already referred, and which he declared Turkey regarded as an undertaking given to her by Great Britain before the world. He added that the Turkish Government saw no necessity for referring anything to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. The advisory opinion of that organization, as he contemptuously styled it, could not in any way affect the rights held by the Turkish Government under the Treaty of Lausanne, the minutes of the Conference which resulted in that Treaty and the provisions of the Covenant as to the powers of the Council. As for any declarations made on behalf of the Turkish Government which might modify those rights, they were worthless in the absence of formal ratification by the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

The length of rope given to the Turk had proved sufficient. I was at last definitely to put an end to the ambiguous position in which we had been ever since the proceedings began, and to make it quite clear to the Council that there could be no further question of measuring our case and that of the Turks by a different measure. I at once drew the attention of the Council to the fact that, unless I had completely misunderstood him, the Turkish representative had informed the Council that whatever might be the view of the Permanent Court he was not prepared to accept that view unless it concurred with his own, and that he had also formally disavowed the assurance given by Fethy Bey to the Council on the 30th September 1924. If that was really the meaning of what he had said then I was bound to make it quite clear that until the statement which he had just made was withdrawn, and

in advance the decision of the Council, any pledge or assurance that the British Government had given fell to the ground and was non-effective. If the Turkish Government did not find themselves able to come into line again with the British Government, as it did in September last, by the time the Permanent Court had given its reply, assuming that that reply was to assign more than a mediating rôle to the Council then the British Government would of course be in the same position of complete liberty as the Turkish Government. What I should have liked to say was that the Council in that case ought to refuse to allow the Turks to appear before it, or to give any further consideration to their claim. But I felt that, as an arbitrator, the Council could not be put in a different position from the Turk as regards the character of our obligation.

M. Loucheur, who was presiding over the Council in the absence of M. Briand and that there could be no question of discussing round the Council table the declarations made by the two parties. The Council was there to listen, but he need hardly say that its silence did not in any way imply acquiescence in those declarations. The Council intended to stand on the legal ground of the Treaty of Lausanne, and it was for that very reason that the Sub-Committee had proposed an appeal to the High competence of the Permanent Court in order to settle certain questions of law. The Council then adopted the conclusions of the Committee, and M. Loucheur wound up *quo* until a decision had been reached on the subject of the frontier.

I understand that a Special Session of the Permanent Court is to be held on the 26th October and that the decision will be given about the 22nd November, in time at any rate for it to reach all concerned before the December meeting of the Council. We shall then be confronted by one of several alternatives. The Court may conceivably disregard the obvious purpose of the Treaty of Lausanne and the assurances given last September by both parties and declare the function of the Council to be a purely mediatory one. In that case we may safely presume that the Turks will accept nothing that we could possibly consider and things will simply continue in *status quo*. If on the other hand, the Court decides that the Council

is an arbitrator, the first step will obviously be to insist on the Council securing from Turkey an absolute and unqualified pledge to accept the decision of the Council in advance. The Turks will probably refuse. In that case the Council can either declare them non-suited and give a verdict in our favour, or postpone the consideration of the case until the Turks come forward of their own accord and announce their

decision, in other words postpone it indefinitely. If the Turks should, however, completely change their attitude by December and accept, we have the alternative possibilities of a majority decision which would certainly be in our favour, and of a unanimous decision. The latter may be so difficult to secure in face of Dr. Udden's attitude that great efforts will undoubtedly be made, in that case, to avert the discredit to the League of a failure to arrive at a decision, and we shall be strongly pressed to find some partial concession or face-saving formula which may bring Dr. Udden into line. That may yet have to be considered but on the whole I am disposed to think that the point will not be reached, but that we shall

be in *status quo*. As we are in possession this last solution, though not ideal is good enough to work upon, unless the Turks really mean to declare war and invade Iraq. I do not believe that they are really capable of such an act of suicidal folly, however much they may have bluffed for the benefit of the League and of our cowardly press magnates at home.

The Turkish tactics in this business have indeed been based on a bluff which has failed to produce its effect, and which it will be much more difficult to renew successfully three months hence. They have been fundamentally stupid tactics, for they have been throughout calculated to frustrate a decision, a result which can only benefit the party actually in possession. At the same time the instinct which has inspired them may well lead the Turkish Government to prefer to keep their claim to the whole Mosul Vilayet alive *en a-reu* their own Grand National Assembly, even if they know that they do not mean to do anything to assert it, rather than to acquiesce in a formal acceptance in advance of a decision of the Council of the League, which they suspect will give them little or nothing.

Administratively, of course, the continuation of a period of delay and uncertainty is regrettable, especially if it is accompanied by a series of irritating minor acts of aggression along the frontier. In this respect, however, the Turks

the Council Meeting for a display of their attitude which has enabled us to secure the presence of a League Representative on the frontier and which has, once again, advertised their unwillingness to be entrusted with control over a subject Christian population.

On the 12th and 14th September telegrams arrived from Sir Henry Dobbs that the Turks were attacking Christian villages immediately north of the Brussels line, that 200 Christian refugees had arrived at Zakho in a deplorable state of destitution,

district into the mountains north of the line claimed by His Majesty's Government. The total number of these Christians, who are Roman Catholic Chaldeans and not Assyrians, is about 5,000 of whom it would appear from subsequent telegrams that less than half have been actually deported, the rest having made good their escape into Iraq. He also reported that a small Turkish patrol had crossed the Brussels

and the Turkish patrol had recrossed the line. I decided that this fresh information, which indicated a renewal of the deliberate policy adopted by the Turkish Government at the time of the Brussels meeting last year, could not be allowed to pass unnoticed. I accordingly informed the Council on the 15th September in an official letter addressed to the Secretary General. Dr. Rushdy replied on the following day, promising to communicate with his Government and criticising the reports as extremely improbable. His rejoinder was to a large extent counteracted by two telegrams of appeal for help and justice from the refugees themselves, which were addressed direct to the Council on the 16th September. On the 17th September I replied in detail to the Turkish letter, and communicated to the Council the contents of two further telegrams received from the High Commissioner. On the same day Dr. Rushdy in a curt letter to the Secretary General said that he had received instructions from his Government and that he was authorised to inform the Council that the allegations of the deportation of Christians in any part of Turkey were absolutely devoid of foundation.

On the evening of the same day I addressed another letter to the Secretary General, giving further detailed information as to the deportation and ill treatment



of Christians, and on the 21st September I asked for a special meeting of the Council to be held with the least possible delay in order to consider the correspondence ending with this letter. I suggested in the letter itself that the Council should forthwith despatch to the locality of the Brussels line such representative or representatives as might be required for the purpose of investigating so far as possible the charges which had already been made by the two Governments, and of reporting immediately to the Council in the event of any similar occurrence in the future. I added an assurance that His Majesty's Government and the Iraq Government would welcome the presence of such a representative on their side of the Brussels line and would afford him every assistance.

The Council was undoubtedly impressed by the facts presented to them, and at a meeting held on the 24th September presented a report and resolution laying down the necessity of avoiding frontier incidents and the spreading of any allegations pending the reference to The Hague Court, and recommending the appointment of a representative to keep the Council informed of the situation in the locality of the provisional frontier. The resolution did not specifically include any reference to the charges I had brought forward, but I accepted it without criticism, feeling that the essential thing was to get a man on the spot who could not help reporting some of the events of the last few weeks. Dr. Rushdy had originally refused to accept such a representative or even to attend the Council. But the personal persuasion of M. Loucheur appears to have succeeded in inducing him to make, at any rate, a pretence of not directly defying the Council. In an even more involved speech than usual, he began by accepting the appointment of a representative, stipulating, however, that he should have a Turkish assessor, and that he should enquire "from the military and all other points of view" into the situation at the time of the signature of the Treaty of Lausanne and into all infractions of the *status quo* since July 1923. I thought at first that he was merely adding these conditions to waste time and confuse the immediate issue by bringing forward a mass of charges difficult to deal with after such a lapse of time. But I realised, as he went on to enter upon a long dissertation to the effect that the territory north of the Brussels line was not "disputed territory," and that any question of deportations could only be a minority question, that he really meant to refuse any investigation on Turkish side of the frontier, but was in the same breath impudently trying to introduce stipulations into the subject of any enquiry on our side of the frontier. His efforts to avoid acknowledging this frankly in answer to questions I put to him were so lamentably failing as to lead to a general outburst of laughter in the hall. M. Loucheur, who was in the chair, was very much perturbed, and hurriedly closed the discussion.

M. Loucheur spoke to the Turks as the meeting broke up, and came back to me to say that Dr. Rushdy had not really meant to refuse investigation on his side of the frontier outright, but would telegraph for further instructions to Ankara. He urged me to stay for another two days in case the answer was conciliatory and notified a further Council meeting. However, in spite of further discussion with Dr. Rushdy, and a lunch with him on the following day, M. Loucheur failed to do more than to draw from Dr. Rushdy before his departure a further letter containing a number of additional stipulations for the conduct of an enquiry south of the frontier, but clearly excluding the Turkish side of the frontier from its purview. In view of this, and of the fact that the Council intended to proceed to the selection of a representative on Monday, the 28th September, I sent a letter to the Secretary-General on the 26th September, just before my departure from Geneva, making it clear that, as long as the enquiry was confined to the Iraq side of the frontier, the details of its conduct were matters to be settled purely between His Majesty's Government and the Council, and that even if the Turkish Government should change its mind and agree to the conduct of investigations on the Turkish side, there could be no question of a roving investigation into the past and present administration of the Mosul Vilayet or of anything but an enquiry into the position on the frontier conducted on precisely the same methods and principles on both sides of the frontier and over corresponding areas.

I understand that the Council at its meeting yesterday selected as its chief representative General Laidner, the Fethiman Commander in Chief, a distinguished soldier who has had experience of warfare on the Armenian front, and who can be relied upon to act with firmness and impartiality.

L. S. AMERY

Downing Street, September 30, 1925

No. 45

Sir R. Lindsay to Mr. Austen Chamberlain—(Received October 2)

(No 121.)  
(Telegraphic)

Constantinople, October 2, 1925

I HAD a very long conversation yesterday with Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs. First part was mainly taken up with a lengthy repetition of arguments that had been exchanged at Geneva. Frontier incidents, he said, were now matters in which small parties of two or three men only were concerned. Of Chatafan affair about which I had inquired, he said, the League of Nations had not yet been asked to have heard nothing more. He said that the story of deportations of Christians was entirely untrue. I tried to get him to say that there were no more such cases. Moreover, he had some method of disproving positively the story which he was going to produce, but nature of which he did not disclose to me. He expressed regret that Irak authorities allowed themselves to be deceived.

Minister for Foreign Affairs said Turkish Government would not appear before the Permanent Court at The Hague. The argued points to be settled there and decision to be rendered were, he said, matters of no importance, but he gave me to understand that he himself would probably again represent Turkey at December meeting of the Council. These remarks, however, should be read in the light of second part of conversation, for which see my immediately following telegram.

(Repeated to Bagdad, No 50)

No. 46

Sir R. Lindsay to Mr. Austen Chamberlain—(Received October 3)

(No 122.)

Constantinople, October 2, 1925

MY TELEGRAM received by telegram.

I asked Minister for Foreign Affairs if as regards solution he considered that there was any difference between whether things were just the same.

He said that at the last meeting at Geneva Secretary of State for the League of Nations had said that he hoped for a settlement either by decision of the Council or by agreement.

This was first suggestion of settlement by direct dealing made at Geneva. He himself had responded in the same meeting, and later, when leaving Geneva, had made a declaration on the subject to the press. (This refers to statement to "Daily Mail" correspondence on the subject of the frontier, which he intended to discuss frontier question with me.) As to action by Council, he said that a decision might be reached, but that it would constitute a practical solution, but a decision that would leave on the question of the frontier a question of a decision possible of acceptance. A decision in favour of Brussels line would be precisely of our description. Speaking generally, and unofficially, he hoped for a settlement by diplomatic discussion. He could not omit, not, he expected to make a real issue from procedure before Council, where argument answered argument and speeches had to follow hot on each other. The two Governments had not yet really considered if they [I omitted] could settle the matter between themselves. I told him that the League of Nations had not little more than fulfilment of a promise to the Council, and that it was not to be expected by the Council to be fulfilled.

He would not discuss this, but said that it was not to be expected by the Council to be fulfilled. He suggested that the Council should be asked to do some days.

At another point, however, he said that the matter must be shared, and suggested that he himself had now made sufficient advances. I expect he has not yet definitely made up his mind as to procedure.

Only indication given of what he wanted as frontier was the suggestion that the League of Nations should be asked to do some days. (2) reminder that he had offered to give up the frontier, and that the League of Nations should be asked to do some days. Possibly, however, these were not meant as indications.

[14003]

... it well to say as little as possible, and, indeed, had hardly any occasion to say anything at all. I found, however, that the President would be most happy if I could contribute anything towards a settlement.

Minister for Foreign Affairs has apparently realised that Turkey is unlikely to get from the League anything more than the Brussels line. He is most anxious to have a peaceful frontier.

It also seems safe to assume that all the eloquent gestures of last few weeks have so far been pure bluff.

(Repeated to Bagdad, No. 51.)

No. 47

Sir R. Lindsay to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received October 4.)

(No. 123.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 3, 1925

YOL R telegram No. 126

Press has, if anything, been rather quieter lately, but there is rather more tension in the town and French Ambassador, for instance, is quietly panicky. But where Turkish Embassy talks in one sense and Minister for Foreign Affairs in the opposite (see my telegram No. 121), it is difficult to avoid reaching one's conclusion except on general grounds, and though empirical reasoning may be dangerous, I have been unable to persuade myself that Turks are willing to have a breach with us now.

It is, I suppose, conceivable that Minister for Foreign Affairs in his conversation with me was throwing dust in my eyes and trying to lull our suspicions for a few days while Turkish Government completes preparations for an actual attack on Irak. But if this were so, it is inconceivable to me that such an excitable and self-important man as he should stay (I twenty-two) days in Constantinople on his way back to Angora as he is doing.

I will report any information I can obtain about Russian activity.

No. 48

Consul General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received October 6.)

(No. 47.)

(Telegraphic.)

Beirut, October 6, 1925

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry

"Forty first Infantry and 14th Cavalry Divisions reported moving to Irak front."

(Repeated to Bagdad.)

No. 49

Sir R. Lindsay to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received October 7.)

(No. 125.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 6, 1925

MY telegram No. 123

Marked détente is observable in the press. There has been little comment on Mosul question of the kind prevalent hitherto, and, on the other hand, papers are full of statements that direct (I negotiations) are about to open. These must have been inspired by Minister for Foreign Affairs, as nothing in this sense has been given by this Embassy.

(Repeated to Bagdad, No. 52.)

No. 50

Sir W. Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to Consul General Salaw (Beirut) (No. 18.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, October 8, 1925

YOL R telegram No. 47 of 8th October. Turkish troop movements.

Please telegraph source of report and your observations as to its reliability.

No. 51

Consul General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received October 10.)

(Unnumbered.)

(Telegraphic.)

Beirut, October 10, 1925

FOLLOWING for Air Ministry from liaison officer —

"Movement of 14th Cavalry Division towards Mosul front confirmed by French from several sources. Movement of 41st Division reported by Turkish deserters and needs confirmation."

(Repeated to Bagdad.)

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No. 52

Sir R. Lindsay to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received October 12.)

(No. 749.)

Consul General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received October 12, 1925)

HERR NADOLNY, the German Ambassador, called on me on the 11th October. He was very friendly and spoke of the difficulties of his position here, having to keep on good terms alike with the British, the Turks and the Russians. He assured me most emphatically that he never had incited the Turks against us, and, on the contrary, any influence he possessed would be exerted in the opposite sense, because any sort of a breach between the Turkish and British Governments would affect relations between Great Britain and France, and instantly the German Government would have difficulties on their western frontier. All that the German Government wanted, therefore, was that the Mosul question should be settled peaceably and as quickly as possible. I have no reason to doubt Herr Nadolny's assurances.

3 The conversation then turned on the Mosul question, and he began to persuade me that the town of Mosul was not in the least necessary to Irak, and that a peaceable settlement of the Mosul question would be to the advantage of all. He would do well to let them have some such line as the Lesser Zab. He went on for quite a time, and it suddenly occurred to me that he was playing precisely the opening he had practised once before on me about a year ago, when our relations with Angora were very strained indeed (my despatch No. 768 of the 14th October, 1924), and I accepted the gambit in the same manner. My experience was, I said,

[14003]

p. 2



that in these matters His Majesty's Government were apt to keep a surprisingly stiff upper lip. If the Turks wanted to throw themselves into the arms of Russia, let them do it, and in a very short time they would be struggling to get out again. What did the Turks want with more Kurds and, *a fortiori*, with more Arabs within their frontiers? Why should His Majesty's Government accept a bad frontier line which the Turks would not respect loyally under any circumstances? Their propaganda would penetrate anything but a line of impassable mountains, so let's have our frontier in the very heart of the Hakkari country and then hope for peace and decent relations.

4. A year ago when Herr Nadolny talked to me in this sense I thought he was sounding me out on behalf of someone else—presumably the Turkish Government. On meditating over what he has said to me to-day, I rather prefer the conclusion that he was pressing also on me, and quite legitimately, those counsels of moderation which, as he says, he always tries to press on the Turks. If so, I hope he will do it more convincingly with them, for he made out a sorry case for the separation of Mosul from Iraq.

I have, &c  
R. C. LINDSAY

E 6201/32 65]

No 53.

Sir R. Lindsay to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 12.)

(No 758. Confidential)

Sir,

Constantinople, October 8, 1925.

I HAD the honour in my two telegrams, Nos 121 and 122 of the 2nd instant, to report the substance of what Tewfik Rushdi Bey had said to me the day before about the Iraq frontier question, and when I remember that the conversation lasted a good hour and a half, during which his Excellency talked almost incessantly, even I feel surprised at having nothing further to report than is set forth in those telegrams. I have, however, heard of two other conversations which Tewfik Rushdi had at about the same time.

2. He asked the Persian Ambassador to call on him, and gave him, too, a long account of what had passed at Geneva. He told Sadik Khan of the proposal he had put forward for a security pact, but he did not define his ideas on the subject in any detail. He did not ask the Ambassador for his views or suggest that he should ascertain those of the Persian Government. Sadik Khan does not think that he is conducting any negotiations on the subject at Tehran, and came to the conclusion that Tewfik Rushdi was not serious, that the whole thing was mere propaganda, and not worth telegraphing about to his Government. Tewfik Rushdi also gave the Ambassador a

Mr. Amery had been very violently opposed to each other, and had exchanged many shrewd blows, yet, just as the end was coming, they had met and had a conversation in friendly manner. He had succeeded in persuading Mr. Amery that, apart from what was reasonably necessary to her for her security, Turkey was inspired by no aggressive ideas, so that the end of the conference came in a good atmosphere with Tewfik Rushdi had told me that he had not exchanged a single word with Mr. Amery outside the conference room! It is useless to expect literal accuracy from Tewfik Rushdi, but he has given me the impression that all would now go well in the matter of Mosul.

3. A few hours later he received M. Gentizon, the local correspondent of the Paris "Temps," to whom he gave an interview. This interview Tewfik Rushdi corrected and revised, and it should have appeared in the Paris issue of the 3rd or 4th October as the utterances of a "prominent Turkish personality." I have not seen the article, but I am told it is somewhat as follows: Other Powers have their ambitions mainly in Africa, but only England pursues hers undeviatingly in Asia. Her aim is to secure to herself "the three B's," viz., Basra, Bagdad and Baku, and it behoves the Powers affected (presumably France and Persia, as well as Turkey and Russia) to see that their interests are not menaced.

4. My own conversation with Tewfik Rushdi took place on Thursday evening and one newspaper the very next morning had the news that much importance was attached to the interview, and that it was expected that direct negotiation would now

take place. Since then the same note has been struck by almost the entire press, and it is generally said that I may be expected to go to Angora almost at once to open discussions. At the same time, apart from these news items, Mosul has vanished from the editorial columns quite completely. The press occupies itself with the hat movement, with patriotic celebrations, with the quarrel between Yunous Nadi and Emin Bey, the Prefect of Constantinople, but on Mosul there is no comment at all. (Interior) said to be coming here immediately. I am more bewildered by this sudden and peculiar calm than ever I was by all the tub thumping of the past six weeks.

5. I had been thinking of paying a visit to Angora in these days, but it seems to me that if I were to do so now I should merely give rise to the impression, probably erroneous, that His Majesty's Government, impressed by the agitations of the passed six weeks, were welcoming the idea of direct negotiations with a view to abating their claims to Mosul. Perhaps if the Turks wish for direct discussion, they had better themselves take some more active step than they have hitherto taken to ascertain the wishes of His Majesty's Government, and I had better await the developments of the next few days before doing anything at all.

I have, &c  
R. C. LINDSAY

No 54

Sir W. Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to Consul London (Geneva)

(No. 242)

(Telegraphic) R.

Foreign Office, October 12, 1925

FOLLOWING for Secretary-General of League of Nations—

"Reuter's Paris correspondent has reported that General Laidoner, League Commissioner for Iraq frontier district, was leaving Paris for Bagdad on 11th October. In order that due facilities and assistance may be given to General Laidoner by Iraq authorities, His Majesty's Government will be grateful if they may be informed as soon as possible of: (1) exact scope of general's instructions from Council of League, and probable duration of mission; (2) numbers and ranks of persons accompanying him, and particulars of accommodation required; and (3) route by which he will proceed to Iraq and probable date of his arrival."

No 55

Secretary General, League of Nations (Geneva), to Sir W. Tyrrell.—(Received October 13)

(Unnumbered)

(Telegraphic) En clair

Geneva, October 13, 1925

QUESTION of Iraq Turkish frontier

Your telegram No 242 received from British Consul

General Laidoner and party leave Marseilles, 13th October, and will travel by motor route from Beirut, arriving at destination about last week in October. Laidoner will inform British High Commissioner of Iraq exact date of arrival at Bagdad. In addition, Laidoner mission consists of Señor Oriema, Spanish Diplomatic Service, former dragoman, Colonel Jac, Czechoslovak army, as assistants; M. Markus, Estonian Diplomatic Service, and Signor Charrere, secretariat of League, as secretaries. Letter follows regarding instructions from Council and probable duration of mission.

Det. 56

Sir,

*The House, October 13, 1925*

WITH reference to earlier correspondence concerning the questions submitted to the court for an advisory opinion under the resolution by the Council of the League of Nations of the 19th September last, I have the honour to bring to your knowledge that I have received the following two telegrams concerning the attitude of the Turkish Government in this matter, dated the 8th and 12th October respectively —

(1)

*Telegram from the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Registrar,  
dated October 8, 1922.*

" Au l'honneur pour accuser réception votre télégramme 28 septembre  
ture, tout en professant la plus haute estime et déférence vis-à-vis  
Cour Justice internationale. Étant donné qu'il a eu occasion la faire entendre dans maintes  
circonstances, à conviction que questions mentionnées dans requête Conseil Société  
Nations datée 19 septembre, et au sujet desquelles avis consultatif Cour a été  
demandé, présente caractère nettement politique, qui, de l'avis Gouvernement  
confère Conseil dans différend Mossoul en vertu rédaction definitive article 3 Traité  
Lausanne et déclarations intérieures seu Lord Curzon qui ont motivé l'adoption par  
Turquie dit article excluent toute possibilité d'un arbitrage Par ailleurs, le fait  
que Conseil a cru devoir lui-même demander avis consultatif Cour sur nature  
pouvoirs qu'il détient articles 3 précité met en évidence justice point de vue mon  
Gouvernement De son côté, représentant britannique, ayant déclaré par-devant  
Conseil qu'engagements antérieurs pris sur ce point par son Gouvernement avaient  
perdu toute validité intention ainsi manifestée officiellement à résoudre question sur  
laquelle aucun doute ne pouvait il ailleurs subsister Trois devoirs signaler attention  
Cour que mon Gouvernement a de même clairement et suffisamment exprimé sa  
manière envisager question concernant requête présentée par Conseil ainsi que sa  
compétence. Aussi mon Gouvernement pense-t-il qu'il n'y a pas lieu pour lui me

Ministre Affaires étrangères, Turquie, TEHRAN

21

*Telegram from the Secretary General of the League of Nations to the Registrar dated October 12, 1925*

Je vous en remercie très sincèrement.

Reçu lettre 26 septembre. Actes conférence Lausanne ont été imprimés sous rubriques première et deuxième séries, la première contenant premier second, troisième et quatrième volumes, dont premier porte mention secret. Deuxième série se compose deux tomes, le deuxième formant traité proprement dit avec actes annexes. Tous ces actes ont été directement expédiés adresse Gredier Intercourt La Haye, en double exemplaire. Livre rouge publié par venant conférence Constantinople. Deux exemplaires livre rouge ont également été adressés directement La Haye sous pli recommandé. Vous serez obligé

1116 4430 28

I have, &c.  
HAMMARSKJOLD, Registrar

No. 57

*Sir R. Lindsay to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 19*

No. 766.1

SIT.

Constantinople, October 10, 1925.

10. WITH reference to my telegrams Nos. 121 and 122 of the 2nd October regarding the Irak frontier question, I have the honour to report that I called to-day on the Turkish delegate of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. We dealt with some current business, and after it was over, as he had previously asked me whether I was shortly going to Angora, as reported in the press, I said to him that I was in some doubt as to what to do. I had seen Tewfik Rushdi Bey when he passed through Constantinople a week ago, and his Excellency had then spoken to me about the possibility of treating the matter through Ferid Bey in London. At the same time he had emphasised the fact that he was speaking for himself only and that he had not yet consulted his Government, so that nothing could be done at once and I must keep the matter strictly secret for the time being. Thus, I told Nusret Bey, I had done, but in the meanwhile the Constantinople press was full of talk of direct discussion and were constantly saying that I was going to Angora for the purpose. I had indeed had some idea before those developments arose of paying a visit to the capital; but being now in ignorance as to whether anything was being done either at London or at Angora about the matter or how either Government would view the idea of direct discussions, I felt that my going to Angora was inadvisable. At the same time I told him that I did not at all look forward myself to the prospect of direct negotiations, as I could not conceive of any frontier line on which the two parties could voluntarily come to agreement.

2. Asret Bey listened to my communication, on which, however, he had no observations to make.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner for Iraq.

I have, &c

R. C. LINDSAY

B 6370 32 651

No. 58

Mr. R. Landon to Mr. Austin Chamberlain. — (Received October 19.)

(No. 772. Confidential.)

517

Constantinople, October 15 1925.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 738 of the 6th instant, I have the honour to report that there is still remarkably little comment in the press about the Irak frontier question and hardly any editorial comment has appeared. On the other hand, a good many rather mischievous statements continue to be reproduced from the English press calculated to make the public think that the opposition in England to any control over Irak will compel His Majesty's Government to yield to Turkish claims.

and Progress man and ex-Vali of the town) has recently spent a fortnight here. He is, of course, by no means in good odour with the present Government, but he has many friends with whom he had discussed the Mosul question. He had returned to Smyrna with the conviction that the Turkish authorities might blow trumpets and beat drums and repudiate Fethi's assurances of last October and push things to the very edge of the precipice, but they would not make war on England. I think this is a genuine expression of opinion.

3. The Austrian Minister told me this morning that when he saw Tewfik Rashid Bey on the 1st or 2nd October he had suggested to his Excellency that perhaps the two parties to the dispute might now come to terms by direct negotiation. Rashid Bey had answered that he had already at Geneva taken the first step in this direction (M Kral thinks that by this he meant his proposal for a security pact, &c.), and that now it was the turn of the other party to make a move. It had occurred to me

[14003]

It is



4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner for India.

I have, &c.  
R. C. LINDSAY

*Consul General, Beirut, to Mr Austin Chamberlain.—(Received October 21)*

"Colonel Andrea now commanding Jebel Druse column, which is forming new base at Bostra. Gamelin commanding Damascus, where situation serious. Rebels occupying southern and French northern half of town. Paris have authorized passage of 600 Turkish troops through Syria provided no arms accompany them. Authority for 6,000 to pass now asked for, which Turks assert are recruits to replace troops in Kurdistan. Authority for latter not yet granted.

(Repeated to Baghdad and Palestine)

*General Beuret to Mr. Austin Chamberlain.—(Received October 22)*

"Situation at Damascus in hand. Before authorising passage of 6,000 Turks I understand Paris endeavouring to obtain assurance that equal numbers will return (westwards). Passage of important material is reported in the ~~press~~ <sup>press</sup> (Vide summary #7, p 6). Am pressing French for greater info. No information of movements by road."

(Referred to Hagdud)

No. 61

*Air Ministry to Air Officer Commanding, Baghdad.—(Communicated to Foreign Office, October 23)*

(Secret)  
(Telegraphic) P  
111. Government have come to the conclusion that it is highly improbable that the Turks will carry out an organized attack on Mosul before the League gives its decision in December. It is considered further that there is little likelihood of a Turkish attack between now and March, as weather conditions prevailing between December and March will render operations on a large scale difficult.

2 The Government realise the possibility of a surprise attack with cavalry or infantry being made by some irresponsible leader, and a close watch must be kept on our frontiers. It is a fact that the Turk will be deterred from violating the Brussels line by the presence of the League of Nations Commission on the frontier.

3 His Majesty's Government desire that you will do all in your power to avoid becoming involved in consequence of any minor frontier incident, and that only in circumstances which make it clear that the aggression comes from the Turkish side will you take forcible action.

There will probably be considerable reluctance to sending reinforcements from India, owing to political considerations. Our policy is to retain Mosul without involving ourselves in ground operations against superior forces. You would therefore have to rely mainly on air action, as you did a year ago, and base your plans on the existing force at any rate for the first month. It is fully realised that you may be forced to withdraw from Mosul in face of a heavy organised attack.

6. The possibility is being considered of delaying the withdrawal of the British and Indian battalions, due for relief in November and February respectively, with a view to strengthening your garrison until the situation becomes more settled. This arrangement will, it is hoped, make a call for immediate reinforcements less urgent.

7 The Colonial Office also are cabling on these lines to the High Commissioner and instructing as to your relations with the League of Nations Commission

No. 62

## Memoranda respecting the Iraq Frontier Dispute

AN ATTEMPT TO ESTIMATE THE CONSIDERATIONS THAT WILL INFLUENCE OR DETERMINE  
JERUSALEM POLICY IN THE QUESTION OF MOBILE

covered

For all practical purposes Mustafa Kemal is both the Turkish Government and Turkey. He is a practical idealist and a constructive patriot with far-reaching ambitions which have already attained a considerable degree of realization. His aim is to create a new, modernised, independent Turkish State which will be recognised as an equal by the civilised States of the world. His model is Japan and his methods are those of Mussolini. His difficulties are formidable. The country is impoverished in population and wealth, and poor in commercial and industrial experience and organisation. Politically, it is hardly awakened and must be taught the rudiments of self-government. He has no definite plans for it. He has few able assistants and is unfortunate in having antagonised several of the men who might have been of greatest assistance to him. He will not tolerate personal or parliamentary opposition. The modern parliamentary system which he established has proved to be premature, and he has assumed an undisguised dictatorship. This has made him enemies and imposed on him the necessity of maintaining his popularity at all costs.

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Kenal's attitude in the Mosul question. In mistaken reliance on the power and authority of the Rothermere-Beaverbrook press he launched the Turkish press, to which he allows less independence even than Mussolini to the Italian, on a campaign which has practically committed him to obtaining Mosul for Turkey. His failure to do so will be a severe blow to his personal prestige at home and abroad. And at home it is manifestly in need of the stimulus of a success, both the large and influential officer class and the mass of the population are chafing under his necessarily autocratic methods and are inclined to ask whether the system of a personal dictatorship, with all its inconveniences, is justified by its results. A complete and confessed failure to fulfil his boasts and promises about Mosul will therefore be a very severe blow, and he may well be regretting the commitment deriving from his unsuccessful bluff at the time of the last meeting of the Council of the League.

A second and more important consideration of internal politics is the question of Kurdistan. Kemal's policy is to assimilate the Kurdish population into the new State of Turkey. The Kurds are essential both racially and militarily, as breeders of citizens and as defenders of the State. The policy of the Iraq Government and of His Majesty's Government, endorsed by the League Commission, is to plant the seeds of autonomy among the Iraqi Kurds. The inevitable result is

So much for the considerations of internal policy in Turkey. They are not calculated to facilitate acceptance by Kemal of any award by the Council that does not satisfy the Turkish claim.

Kemal undoubtedly looks to the time when the new Turkey will be received into the family of civilized States, and probably, if it were not for the Mosul question he would not hesitate to signify Turkey's accession to the League of Nations. For he would realise the value to Turkey of the guarantees contemplated by the Covenant as an insurance against the Russian danger. He would also appreciate the position of Turkey between the armistice and the signature of the Treaty of Lausanne. Turkey enjoyed a power and importance, largely owing to her skill in exploiting differences between the Allies. Now she stands alone and friendless except for Russia, whose immediate motives and ultimate ambitions are the greatest menace she has to face. No doubt Kemal justly appreciates the value and danger of Russian support. In the past he was able to make good use of this support—political, financial and military—without incurring counter obligations. It is by no means certain that he could do so again. He is probably acutely conscious of Turkey's loneliness and, equally probably, would go to great lengths to secure a guarantee of Turkish territory. His Majesty's Government. The Locarno meeting has proclaimed the isolation of a winter Europe, with which Turkey hopes to associate herself, and revealed the isolation and failure of Turkey's only friend and most dangerous enemy, Russia.

It is to be noted that Turkey will need foreign capital for the many development schemes which he contemplates. Her credit does not stand high abroad and her needs are probably becoming increasingly urgent. In these circumstances, deliberately to flout the League would inevitably jeopardise her prospects of obtaining loans from the members of the League. Military operations against Iraq and Great Britain would throw a further burden on the already overtaxed Turkish exchequer and the expenditure could only be justified by desperate need or by the prospect of assured political and financial results.

On the other hand, it is likely that the hope of securing for Turkey the wealth inherent in the oil deposits of the Mosul Vilayet remains a consideration of great weight.

On the face of it it would seem that Kernal could only be induced to embark on a

that a military bluff would succeed owing to the refusal of opinion in this country to sanction a war with Turkey on behalf of Mosul. For there are cogent arguments

While a forced march on the city of Mosul might succeed, it would be another matter to occupy and hold the vilayet, reinforcements would probably be forthcoming from India and elsewhere, the lines of communication would be difficult, and, in the worst months impossible, the imperfectly pacified and disarmed Kurds would be in the rear of the Turkish forces, the Turkish coast would be vulnerable from the sea and the interior of the country from the air, and the political and financial effects of flouting the League and defying His Majesty's Government would be incalculable.

deductions are necessarily of an exceptionally speculative nature) would seem to be as follows —

1 A military adventure would be a policy of desperation and of doubtful success. It would not appear that Kemal's need is immediate.

2. An intensification of military bluff is a possibility, or even probability, which must be contemplated and met, if need be, with all firmness.
3. Whether or not combined with 2, a continuation of the policy of obstruction and procrastination by the exploitation or improvisation of legal objections and any other expedients that offer themselves may probably be looked for as long as the game lasts.

This may be terminated by an eventual climb-down, represented as a reluctant yielding to moral and material *force majeure*, in return for any compensatory and face-saving concessions that can be secured.

Putting aside any possibility of territorial readjustments, it is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that the British Government might be willing to do so, with or without the aid of the League, in return for the following:—

- (a) Some sort of guarantee against the danger of the loss of Turkish Kurdistan. The obvious suggestion is a guarantee of the Turkish and Iraqi frontiers but it is questionable if we could give this. A frank recognition and discussion of this difficulty might be of value in evolving some expedient.
- (b) Some face-saving device by which Kemal could justify himself to Turkey. This would have to be based upon some actual or apparent concession by His Majesty's Government and combined with some political compensation involving a personal success for Kemal and a political advantage for Turkey.

We have heard much of the effects that would result from a friendly gesture, though we have hitherto been led to suppose that this was simply another name for submitting to the Turkish claim to Mosul. It may be capable of other interpretation and expression. Politically isolated as she is, and yet aspiring to recognition as a modern civilised State, Turkey should be doubly susceptible to any international courtesy. Fierce, ill-mannered, aggressive and unreliable, she is at the same time in need of international recognition for political friendship, and financial support. And, in spite of her mistrust of us, she would probably be glad to see us in the position of her insurance broker and financial backer. But while His Majesty's Government ask nothing better than to live in amity with her, and while British capital could probably be attracted to her industrial development in return for adequate security, we cannot contemplate a reversion to the Victorian policy of guaranteeing Turkey against Russia. The suggestion of any guarantee of Turkish territorial integrity is, therefore, excluded. But might not something in the nature of a spectacular burying of the hatchet be contrived? For example, might not a treaty of friendship and arbitration, combining the maximum of moral implication with the minimum of material commitment, be suggested? The initiative would have to come from His Majesty's Government and the moment carefully chosen. It would unfortunately be useless to speculate upon such possibilities. We are still too much in the dark in regard to feelings and intentions at Angora. And Sir R. Lindley can be relied upon to offer suggestions for the friendly gesture that has on various occasions been hinted at—should he consider that the time for it has arrived. It is, however, conceivable that a variation of the policy adopted towards Germany at Locarno might succeed with Turkey.

It would also be useful if His Majesty's Government could give Turkey some assurances in respect of financial assistance, but, pending a settlement of the debt question, this presents considerable difficulty. It is unfortunately too late to offer her a share in the Mosul oil development scheme.

*Eastern Department, Foreign Office,  
October 23, 1925*



## AN APPRECIATION OF THE TURKISH ATTITUDE

The question has been raised, what action are the Turks likely to take in connection with the Irak frontier question? Will they await the outcome of the impending proceedings at The Hague Court, and the action subsequently taken by the Council of the League of Nations? Or are they likely to embark on aggressive movements against Irak, with a view to create an accomplished fact, as was done by General Zeigowski in the case of Vilna?

Several factors exist which may restrain the Turks from resorting to aggression. In the first place, the winter is coming on and in a few weeks the provisional frontier ("Brussels line") will be well nigh impassable for any considerable bodies of troops with their baggage and ammunition, except in the small non-mountainous section at the western end of the line, where our defensive measures could be concentrated. Secondly the Turks would have to the rear of their attacking force the region of Turkish Kurdistan, which is still far from completely pacified after the recent rebellion, and has kept a large part of the Turkish army busy throughout the present year. Thirdly, it would not be easy for the Turks, even if they succeeded in pushing their troops forward as far as Mosul town, to maintain the long line of communications with their bases at Jezireh and Diarhekir; for this line runs through a country with a mixed population of Arabs, Kurds, Christians and Turkomans, who would not be unanimous in welcoming the invading force, and the Turks must realise that we have quite sufficient air forces to impede their progress by aerial bombardment.

Apart from these military considerations, there are certain indications of a political nature that the Turkish Government are not anxious to court a serious quarrel or an open breach with us at the present juncture. They have evidently "called off" the violent agitation in the Turkish press which persisted throughout the recent discussions at Geneva, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs talked hopefully to Sir R. Lindsay at Constantinople (on his way back from Geneva to Angora) about the possibility of a settlement by diplomatic discussion between the two Governments, the Turkish newspapers have since then been full of statements that direct negotiations are about to open, the difficulties of the internal situation in Turkey (Kurdish unrest, financial embarrassment, &c.) are still sufficiently acute to render a breathing space of peaceful progress highly desirable, if not an absolute necessity. The friendship of Moscow is not yet a factor on which the Turks can rely with absolute confidence. It may also be observed that while the Turks have declined to appear before The Hague Court, their message to the court was couched in such terms as to leave no doubt that they have no intention of accepting the violation of the *status quo*—apart from their habitual persecution of Christian minorities on their side of the Brussels line.

On the other hand, it would be a mistake to suppose that a danger of the Turk running amok is now definitely eliminated. Like all dictatorships, the Kemal régime can only subsist on successes, and it seems more than doubtful whether Kemal could survive a complete climb down from the Turkish claim to the whole Mosul vilayet (possibly excluding the small Dula irrigation region), which he has so long and loudly proclaimed to be an irreducible minimum. It is therefore quite possible that the Turkish Government, in the event of a settlement, will be found in a belief that these tactics are more likely to secure a settlement favourable to their claims than awaiting an arbitral decision or even a mere mediation by the League Council. Unfortunately, our whole position in Irak is such as to render it impossible for us to make any concession or abatement of our claim, which would save Kemal's face or give him a golden bridge over which he could retreat and justify himself to the Angora Assembly and public opinion.

Eastern Department Foreign Office,  
October 23, 1925.

## MEMORANDUM BY THE LEGAL ADVISERS TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

The Council of the League has acting under the last sentence of article 14\* of the Covenant, requested the Permanent Court of International Justice to give an advisory opinion on the following questions—

1. What is the character of the decision to be taken by the Council in virtue of article 3, paragraph 2, of the Treaty of Lausanne, is it an arbitral award, a recommendation or a simple mediation?
2. Must the decision be unanimous, or may it be taken by a majority? May the representatives of the interested parties take part in the vote?

It is somewhat misleading to speak of the finding of the Court in such circumstances as a "decision". There is a clear distinction between the determination of a dispute by the Court under the second sentence of article 14 and an advisory opinion under the last sentence. The latter is merely an opinion given to the Council at its request to assist it in dealing with some matter which is before it. As between Turkey and Great Britain, the finding of the Court will not, from a legal point of view, alter the existing situation at all. It is merely a preliminary step in the proceedings of the Council, and it is the final action of the Council for which Turkey and Great Britain have, under article 3 (2) of the Treaty of Lausanne, to wait.

Further, while the opinion of the Court would no doubt be regarded by the Council as authoritative as regards the legal questions submitted to it, it does not necessarily follow that the Council would act upon it any more than an individual necessarily acts upon the advice of the lawyer whom he consults. If the Court were to advise that the Council has the power to give an arbitral decision which is binding on Turkey and Great Britain, the Council would no doubt accept this definition of its powers, but, although it may be hoped that the Council would then be prepared to give such a decision, one cannot be certain that political considerations might not lead it to attempt to effect a settlement by agreement. Similarly, if the Court advised that the arbitral decision could be given by a majority of the Council, the Council would no doubt accept this as a correct statement of the legal position, but it does not necessarily follow that the Council would be prepared to promulgate a decision which was only supported by a bare majority.

For present purposes it will suffice to consider the possible findings of the Court under two heads—

1. Where the Court holds that the Council has power to give a decision which is binding on the parties even if it is not accepted by one or both of them.
2. Where the Court holds that no settlement of the frontier question can be effected by the Council unless both parties concur in it.

In the first case, the Council would be authorised to give a decision which would succeed in laying down a frontier line, but, if the Turks continue to maintain their present attitude, it is possible that the tendency of the Council would be to compromise, i.e., to divide the disputed territory. This tendency is more likely to prevail if opinion on the Council is divided, if the Court advises that unanimity (apart from the parties to the dispute) is necessary, a compromise may be the only means of getting a decision at all, while, even if the Court advised that a majority decision would suffice, an appreciable minority might quite likely be in a position to impose a compromise.

If, on the other hand, the Court advises that the consent of the parties is necessary, it would seem that the result must be either a compromise accepted by both parties or no decision, in the sense of a definitive fixing of the frontier, at all. In the latter case, it would seem that the "decision" referred to in article 3 (2) of the Treaty of Lausanne would not have been taken and consequently that the *status quo* provided for in that paragraph would continue. The result as regards the *status quo* ought to be the same if the Court found that the Council had power to give an arbitral decision without the consent of the parties and the Council gave a decision which Turkey refused to accept, for as the Turks maintain that the powers of the Council under article 3 (2) do not extend to imposing a frontier upon them, they would in the latter case be in a position to demand that the Council should be bound to give a decision which they would accept.

\* The relevant articles will be found in the appendix overleaf.

to in that paragraph had not been given, in which case the *status quo* would have to be maintained.

There remains the question of what the position would be if Turkey were to decide that the decision of the Council was given, or after a decision had been given which Turkey did not accept, or after the Council had failed to reach a decision.

The normal procedure would be for Great Britain to notify the League of the violation of the *status quo* and of the existence of a dispute between Great Britain and Turkey, and Turkey would be invited under article 17 to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute upon such conditions as the Council might deem just.\*

If Turkey refused the invitation and resorted to war against Great Britain by invading Iraq, article 18 would apply and the sanctions provided by that article should be set loose against Turkey.

If Turkey accepted the invitation, the matter would be dealt with in accordance with articles 12 to 15. Acceptance of the invitation by Turkey should involve the cessation of any hostile measure against Iraq, because otherwise article 16 would at once apply, since Turkey had accepted membership of the League for the purposes of the dispute.

In which the act of aggression had been committed. If the decision of the Council had not yet been given, Turkey would have violated not only the last paragraph of article 18 but also the obligation of non-aggression. If the Council could hardly refuse to call upon Turkey to withdraw her forces pending the League's decision, and if she refused, to apply article 16. If the act of aggression occurred after the Council had given a decision which, according to the opinion of the Court, it was competent to give but which Turkey did not accept, the Council would be bound to stand by its decision as to the frontier and to call upon Turkey to withdraw behind it, and, if Turkey refused, article 18 would again apply. If the act of aggression occurred after the Council had failed to reach a decision, the position would (assuming that it can be successfully argued, as suggested above, that the *status quo* is to continue until such time as the Council finally succeeds in reaching a decision) be the same as in the first of the three cases under consideration, since Turkey would have violated the *status quo*.

In the above observations no attempt has been made to distinguish the present question from an ordinary frontier dispute, on the ground that Great Britain is only concerned in Iraq as a mandatory under article 22 of the Covenant. The point is obviously important but as the position of Great Britain depends not on an ordinary mandate, but on the Council's decision of the 27th September, 1924, accepting the Anglo-Iraq Treaty and the British undertakings to the League in connection therewith, the situation is not quite the same as it would be in the case of an attack on an ordinary mandated territory. It seems probable, in any case, that the special position of Great Britain in the matter would result, not so much in any alteration of the procedure by which the League would deal with the matter as in a greater willingness on the part of the Council to assist a country which may, at any rate to some extent, still be regarded as representing in Iraq the interests of the League. It is obvious that this willingness should be increased if it could be shown that Turkey's action amounted to a flouting of the authority of the League, as it would do if it involved either a breach of Turkey's undertaking to the Council or a violation of the *status quo* which the Permanent Court had held that the Council was entitled to give

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\* It would not be so effective to bring the matter to the notice of the League under article 11, because it is held that the powers of the Council under that article are confined to making recommendations.

† Under article 16 it would, following the resolution of the Second Assembly, be the duty of all members of the League, subject to the general initiative of the Council, in the first place to break off diplomatic relations with Turkey, and then progressively to adopt coercive measures against her obtained from warlike proceedings.

## APPENDIX

### Articles of the Covenant referred to in Memorandum III

#### ARTICLE 11

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary General shall on the request of any member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

#### ARTICLE 12

The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to enquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

#### ARTICLE 13

The members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration.

It specifies as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

#### ARTICLE 14

The Council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be empowered to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by any Assembly.

#### ARTICLE 15

If there should arise between members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.



The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful a statement shall be made public, giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council, either unanimously or by a majority vote, shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

[illegible]

ARTICLE 18

Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants and obligations, it shall be at once liable to the severest sanctions, which shall include war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The members of the League agree further, that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to ensure that the League is kept informed of any such measures.

Any member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the League represented thereon.

## ARTICLE 17

In the event of a dispute between a member of the League and a State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as

the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

Upon such invitation being given the Council shall immediately institute an enquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the provisions of article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and result in the settlement of the dispute.

## ARTICLE 22

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory.

[illegible]

There are territories, such as South West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory subject to the

In every case of mandate, the mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

E 6551/32, 65]

No. 63.

*Air Officer Commanding, Iraq, to Air Ministry—(Communicated by Air Ministry, October 25.)*

(Secret)

(Telegraphic) P.

October 10, 1925

X 757b 25, 10 reference A M 428 A of 22/10 In an emergency the free hand given in this cable will be of greatest value. It is considered that, if the Turks are treated firmly from the beginning of any hostile demonstration, they will not go as far as war. The view of His Majesty's Government that the only course to be taken only in case of a real emergency is entirely understood.

E 6527/175 44]

No. 64.

*Sir R. Lindsay to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 26.)*

(No 785)

Sir,

Constantinople, 16, 1925

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. and to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the relevant authorities. I am, Sir, very sorry to hear that the situation in the East is so serious, and I am sure that the British Government will do all in its power to bring about a peaceful settlement of the difficulties which are now before the world.

Russia

2. In spite of the fact that since 1920, in spite of the close relations of the present day, Turkey is quite conscious of intense Russian activity towards the south, and making allowance for changes of motives and battle-cries, finds that there is an unpleasant similarity between the policy of the Soviet Union and that of the old empire. The future holds out little or no prospect of alleviation, and it may well move to the right, and if the ostensible internationalism of to-day disappears, it can only be replaced by the open acquisitiveness of a former age. Nor is this all, the eclipse of Germany and the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire have *pro tanto* removed two healthy checks on the Russian appetite, especially where Turkey is concerned.

at Britain

3. Similarly, Great Britain's relationship to Turkey should be regarded as like what it was in a past age, and from Constantinople to Vladivostok the outlook is the same. The British Government is not prepared to prop up a whole row of buffer States, and these States, of course with infinite tergiversations, blackmail, and playing off of north against south, will nevertheless come to recognise that on their national existence the British influence must exercise a preservative and the Russian a corrosive effect. For Great Britain the attainment of good Anglo-Turkish relations may be the easier because the problem of Christian minorities has assumed far smaller dimensions than it ever had in the past. On the other hand, the need for it is the greater owing to the existence of politico-religious nationalism in India and other Moslem dependencies.

Turkey

4. Chastened by fifteen years of war, the young Turkish Republic, in common with the old, is a nation of idealists. In all that the Turks do there is and will be infinite muddle, and in their ideals there may be a plentiful absence of logic, but their convictions are deep and genuine, and they are pursuing the realisation of them with passion. In the modernisation part of their programme they have the Japanese example before their eyes, and they purpose not only to remodel from top to bottom their codes and their administrative and social institutions, Secularisation should not be regarded as a mere outburst of crude

atheism, it is adopted as a deliberate act of State with the purpose of making a programme of modernisation possible of execution, for it has been drilled into their ears by every European writer, and Turks have come to understand that Islam is a strait waistcoat within which reform is doomed to be suffocated. Nationalism came into being years ago, but recent events have made it for the first time a living force in the hearts of the people. It now constitutes the driving power behind the whole programme of the Government. More important still, it provides to the commonality some substitute for that which is lost through secularisation. The Government's ideal is to have a compact rectangular Anatolian State into which it would welcome with open arms any and every Turkish speaking peasant in the world. Aliens are not wanted, but Kurds are a necessary evil.

With this programme, the branches of which are indissolubly bound up together, it is hoped to bring Turkey within a few years to such a pitch of strength and prosperity that she will be able to face confidently any menace that may come from north or south. There is no sign at present of any genuine aggressiveness in Turkish foreign policy, and if His Majesty's Government could feel assured on this point as regards the future, it would be to their interest that the Turkish effort should be crowned with success.

Kurdistan

5. The Kurdish rebellion of last spring was a terrible shock to this policy. There is a nationalism in Kurdistan, but it is Kurdish and not Turkish, and the Turkish nationalism, inculcated by the Government, is too narrow and too in character to reconcile backward Kurds to the unpalatable programme of secularisation. Small wonder that the tribesmen broke into revolt. To render contentment the Government has applied fiscal reforms (abolition of the tithes), but any and suppresses Kurdish nationalism, and yet it finds that just across its southern frontier His Majesty's Government proposes to found a sort of Kurdish National Home. This is a direct menace to the very heart of Turkish policy. It is one thing for His Majesty's Government to stand aloof and have as little to do with Turkey as possible, but a very different thing to administer to her a heavy blow right on the mark.

And so we return to the point from which we started—that the Mosul question is the only stumbling block in the path towards Anglo-Turkish friendship. After the events of the past month or two it looks as if the game is fairly in the hands of His Majesty's Government and that they can play it out as they like, but it may be well to remember that more is at stake than a mere frontier line. Perhaps His Majesty's Government are already irretrievably committed to fostering nationalism in Southern Kurdistan, if not, there are strong reasons for wishing that the League will not impose on the mandatory Power any obligation in that direction.

I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner for Iraq.

I have &amp;c

R C LINDSAY

E 6529 32, 65]

No. 65.

*Sir R. Lindsay to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 26.)*

(No 786)

Sir,

Constantinople, October 18, 1925

In continuation of my despatch No. 766 of the 10th October, regarding the Iraq frontier question, I have the honour to report that on the 16th instant a communiqué was published by the official Agency Anadolu in which it is stated that, contrary to what certain newspapers have said, the Turkish Government, apart from the declarations and offers made by its delegation at Geneva, has made no *démarche*, and no *démarche* has been made to it. The public is thus informed that no direct discussion of the question is in progress. The communiqué has evoked no comment in the Turkish press, and the whole question of the frontier is still hardly mentioned.

[14003]



2. I was told a short time ago, in secrecy, that the Turkish military authorities were taking care that the officers in positions of authority on the frontier should all be men who could be trusted to obey orders and to abstain from adventures. This is confirmed both by what Tewfik Rushdi said to me on the 1st October (that frontier affairs now were merely matters of two or three men crossing the line) and by the intelligence forwarded by Sir H. Dobbs, e.g., the return of deported Christians to their villages, and the reprimand of the Turkish Commandant Hakki Bey. I should imagine that Ankara has established a firm control over its frontier officers; but the Iraq authorities can probably judge better than I.

3. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner for Iraq.

I have &c.  
R. C. LINDSAY.

No. 66

*Consul-General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 26.)*

(No. 55)

(Telegraphic)

*Beirut, October 26, 1925*

FOLLOWING from liaison officer.—

"Paris have instructed that two trains be allowed to pass eastwards at a time. These trains must be replaced by two westward bound troop trains before next pair be allowed to pass eastwards. High Commissioner has now appointed Carbillet to Headquarters Intelligence Staff. Comment of French and natives extremely unfavourable."

(Sent to Air Ministry Repeated to Bagdad and Palestine)

No. 67

*Consul, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 27.)*

(No. 56)

(Telegraphic)

*Beirut, October 27, 1925*

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry.—

"Unconfirmed reports state that 14,000 troops and twenty five aeroplanes are at Mardin and 6,000 troops at Jezirat. More reliable reports state that Turks are assembling sixty aeroplanes at Diarbekir. M. Poinlevé's assistant private secretary here."

(Repeated to Bagdad)

No. 68

*Consul-General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 31.)*

(No. 57)

(Telegraphic)

*Beirut, October 31, 1925*

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry.—

"Strong rumour emanating from Turkish consulate states that Turks intend attacking Mosul within a few days. I mention this for what it is."

(Repeated to Bagdad)

(E 6775 2, 65)

No. 69

*Secretary of State for the Colonies to the High Commissioner for Iraq.*

(Secret)

(Telegraphic) P

*Downing Street, November 2, 1925*

YOU will realise that in the event of aggressive action on the part of the Turks and resultant necessity for taking forcible action in defence of the frontiers of Iraq it is of the utmost importance that His Majesty's Government should have the moral support of the League of Nations. For this purpose it is necessary that the League should be fully satisfied it is with the Turkish Government and not with His Majesty's Government that initial responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities rests. The support and approval of the League would be of particular importance in the event of the situation developing in such a way as to render it necessary to take action against Turkey outside Iraq. It is necessary, therefore, that, in the event of any act of Turkish aggression, or of any incident likely to lead to outbreak of hostilities, General Landoner should be kept in closest touch with events, and should be given every facility to report the facts fully and without loss of time to the League of Nations. You should treat him with utmost frankness, but beyond furnishing him with all the relevant evidence available no attempt should be made to influence his judgment or the nature of his reports to the League. ~~It is suggested that General Landoner~~ was acting merely as mouthpiece of British authorities. In the event of defensive action against Turkish encroachment becoming necessary, you should, so far as circumstances allow, keep Landoner promptly informed of measures taken and ensure that necessity for them is fully explained to him. You should, of course, throughout in consultation with Air Officer Commanding, to whom a copy of this telegram should be communicated.

This is in continuation of my telegram of the 27th October.—AMEAY

No. 70

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain to Sir R. Lindsay (Constantinople)*

(No. 33)

(Telegraphic)

*Foreign Office, November 2, 1925*

MY telegram No. 122 of 2nd October and your despatch No. 766 of 10th October. Iraq frontier question.

His Majesty's Government do not consider that anything new has occurred to justify change from policy followed hitherto of declining to entertain Turkish suggestions of direct negotiations. Decision now lies with Council of League. Departure from present policy would not only be regarded at this juncture as act of discourtesy to League, but would be unlikely to serve any useful purpose, since His Majesty's Government are not prepared to make any territorial concession likely to be acceptable to Turkish Government.

You should be guided by above considerations if Turks broach question again. There is no foundation for Minister for Foreign Affairs' statement to you that Secretary of State for the Colonies referred at Geneva to possibility of a settlement by agreement between interested parties.

No. 71

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain to the Marquess of Crewe (Paris)*

(No. 307)

(Telegraphic)

[By Bag]

*Foreign Office, November 2, 1925*

MY telegram No. 130 to Constantinople of 28th October and Sir R. Lindsay a reply No. 127 of 29th October. Turco-Syrian frontier negotiations.

I am reluctant to believe that the French Government are likely to make concessions to the Turks regarding the use of the Syrian section of the Bagdad Railway in exchange for some territorial or other *quid pro quo*. But you should

[14003]

watch the situation carefully, and if you see any danger of such concessions being made, make immediate and strong representations to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Any agreement whereby the Turks would be enabled to pass as many troops as they please over the railway would cause His Majesty's Government most serious concern.

E 6706 32 65]

No. 72.

Memorandum by Mr. Austen Chamberlain

M. UNDÉN spoke to me in Paris about the Mosul question. He said that it appeared to him clear that the Council was acting in an arbitrary capacity, but that even though it had the right to impose a decision on the two parties it did not necessarily follow that it would be wise to do so. M. Undén began his discussion of the question by observing that the commission sent to Iraq had not made a recommendation to the Council, and had expressly referred, for the consideration of the Council, certain aspects of the question which members of the commission had not enquired to some within their sphere. If the commission had had to weigh these larger considerations, their report, said M. Undén, might have borne a different character. This was the impression left upon his mind by conversations which he had had with one of the members of the commission.

This exordium appeared to me obscure. Its practical importance became apparent when M. Undén suggested that it was desirable to find a compromise, and that the commission might usefully invite the two parties to meet and endeavour to reconcile them. I replied by describing to M. Undén what had passed between the Turkish Minister in London and myself in the months of March and April of this year. I told M. Undén that no other basis for a compromise had ever been suggested to me, and I invited him to consider in what light the British Government would appear if it came before the Council with some such language as the following:

"We have a mandate which constitutes us the guardians and protectors of the young State of Iraq. We have had a dispute with the Turkish Government as to what is the boundary of that State, but we have now happily arranged this dispute by selling the interests of Iraq in return for economic and financial concessions to citizens of Great Britain. We invite the Council to approve the bargain that we have made."

How, I asked, was it possible to suggest to any self-respecting nation a bargain of this character?

M. Undén suggested that the arrangement should take a different form, and that the frontier of Iraq should be drawn upon some unmentioned line dividing Mosul into two parts. I replied that this would counter the clear recommendations of the League's commissioners, that it would correspond neither with the military, ethnical nor economic conditions of the country, and that it was impossible that we should voluntarily be parties to such a proposal.

M. Undén then argued at length that it was more important for the future to have the goodwill of Turkey than to have a strategic frontier. I invited M. Undén to apply his argument to the case of Sweden. What would his feelings be if I argued that, as Russia coveted a part of Sweden and peace would be insecure unless Russia were content, it was desirable that the League should allocate a chunk of Swedish territory to satisfy Russian desires? This was a policy of pure blackmail. M. Undén replied that, as presented by me, the policy was not fairly stated. What he suggested was more comparable to what had happened in the case of the Åland Islands. After all, the question in the last resort was whether military considerations should prevail over all others.

It is clear that what M. Undén suggested was a policy of pure blackmail. I would only observe that if I could draw such a line as he suggested, which brought the Turks over the mountains into the plain, there would be war whenever Great Britain withdrew from Iraq, be that time five years, twenty-five or fifty years. He would have created a situation in which Iraq would be unable to defend itself, and Turkey would be certain to attack at the first favourable opportunity.

M. Guani also spoke to me upon this subject. In view of M. Guani's remarks which he had been expounding to the committee of the Council, M. Guani was anxious to know what chance, if any, there was of a confrontation of the parties leading to an amicable arrangement of the dispute. I told him what had passed between M. Guani and me, and in particular what had passed in the official correspondence with the Turkish Minister. He thanked me and said that this was of great consequence.

M. Quirón de León also spoke to me upon the subject, and I promised to communicate officially with the secretary-general, for the information of the Council, copies of the correspondence with the Turkish Minister.

Foreign Office, November 2, 1925.

A. C.

No. 73

(Consul General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received November 3)

(No. 60)

(Telegraphic)

Beirut, November 2, 1925

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry:—

"Up to date 3,000 troops have passed eastward in three trains, 500 have passed westward. Train containing 1,200 eastward bound troops has been detained at Islahie since 20th October and will not be allowed to proceed until further troops pass westward."

(Repeated to Bagdad)

No. 74

(Consul General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received November 5)

(No. 61)

(Telegraphic)

Beirut November 5, 1925

FOLLOWING for Air Ministry

Following from liaison officer.

"No further troop movements by rail eastwards or westwards. Turks declare they will move remainder of eastward bound troops by road. It appears that they have no more troops to transport westwards. Three thousand have been sent to the Syrian situation. Country infested with rebels and brigands. Gendarmes incompetent. Two more cavalry regiments and nine more infantry battalions being sent."

(Repeated to Bagdad and Palestine)

E 7046 32 66]

No. 75.

Sir H. Landau to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received November 16.)

(No. 840.)

Sir,

Constantinople, November 11, 1925.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a report from Major R. E. Harono, who has just paid to Angora. I wish, in the first place, to bring out and comment on two points made by Major Harono in this report.

First, the young republic in South Kurdistan is not a mere province, but a certain amount of autonomy, and are treated properly, it will mean continued trouble for the Turkish Government. I feel that I cannot adequately emphasize its importance. I confidently believe that autonomy in South Kurdistan is the head of the Turkish Government against Great Britain, and that what Turks dread more than anything else is the eastern vilayets the young republic may have on its hands just such a problem as Macedonia constituted for the declining Ottoman Empire. In such a case well guarded frontiers and abstinence from propaganda by

(14003)

N 4



1. 在《X 射线》中，作者通过 X 射线的发现，揭示了物质的微观结构。这一发现不仅推动了物理学的发展，也为材料科学、医学影像学等领域奠定了基础。

5 If you are fit to make such declaration in Parliament, you will not be asked for recommendations, —

6. I now revert to Major Harenc's report, and note that, whereas formerly he thought the Turks were bluffing about Mosul, he has now come to the conclusion that there is no bluff and that they mean to have it, peacefully if possible; by force if not. I myself was in Constantinople throughout September and witnessed a tremendous Mosul press campaign engineered here obviously by the Turkish authorities. Major Harenc was away throughout September (I often stood what I regarded as a great bluff I would not gratify the Turks by showing even the amount of concern implied by recalling him from leave). Major Harenc now comes is greatly impressed by the contrast between what he hears now and what he heard last summer. He supports his view by the observation of numerous phenomena of a more or less superficial nature, and not the least of them is one that he has not been able to mention, viz., the enormous credits assigned to the army in the budget for 1926-27 (see my despatch No. D.O.T (A) 1/3 of to-day's date).

main I have based my view on the utterances of persons reliable and unbiased and on broad considerations of Turkish policy, both internal and external. Possibly the visit which I am about to pay to Angora may shake the view which I still hold to-day, for I will admit that during the past couple of months I have given many hours' thought to this question, and I have sometimes been assailed by doubts increased, I dare say, by the sense of responsibility. I trust that you, Sir, will appreciate the difficulties of one who has conceived it to be his duty to forecast the probable action of so enigmatical a body as the Turkish Government, and I will close this despatch with a discouraging quotation from the writings of one of my predecessors:—

I have, &c.  
R. C. LINDSAY

Major Havens to Sir R. Landau.

2. The Turks want Mosul quite definitely, and are now prepared, if necessary, to fight for it; but they do not intend to fight until all other means of obtaining it have been proved unavailing.

- (a.) That if the Kurds are left in Irak, given a certain amount of autonomy, and are treated properly, it will mean continual trouble with the Kurds in Turkey
- (b.) That if Mosul is now given up, after making such a point of its retention, it will definitely react against the present Government in general, and against Mustafa Kemal in particular
- (c.) Rightly or wrongly they consider the Mosul Vilayet as a source of potential wealth.

When the Kurdish rebellion was suppressed, this force was kept in being in the night, in order to avoid a possible war, possibly frighten the League of Nations into public opinion in England which is averse to any expenditure outside England into raising such an outcry on the possibility of war that it would induce the British Government to come to terms with Turkey by direct negotiation. They have not yet making the British Government reopen direct negotiations, but they have, from what they read in papers such as the "Daily Mail," raised a strong feeling in England against incurring any expenditure for the sake of Irak. They have now decided to follow up this partial success, which is, indeed more than they expected. The presence therefore of the Turkish army in the Mosul Valley has now become a threat.

I have, &c.  
R. E. HARENC.

" 4. Avant que question frontière soit définitivement réglée, mon opinion est que les incidents indiqués sous Nos. 2 et 3 sont inévitables et ne peuvent, par conséquent, influencer adverse façon quelle que soit décision Conseil. Par contre, déportations chrétiennes peuvent avoir suite qui mérite attention Conseil."

Fuller report by bag  
(Repeated to Bagdad, No. 54.)



No. 78

Sir P. Lorrain to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received November 26)

(No. 375. Very Confidential)  
(Telegram hic.)

Tehran, November 25, 1925

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs asked me this morning how question of Mosul stood. I acquainted him with ruling of International Tribunal on points submitted to it, and said next step was for Council of League to give an arbitral decision.

His Excellency then proceeded to read to me in personal confidence long extract from confidential report sent him by Persian delegate to League of Nations reporting interview at Geneva with Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs just before latter departed, presumably towards the end of September. Gist was as follows:-

Tewfik Rushdy Bey said that Turkey would not be represented at Hague Court, quite well that population of Mosul Vilayet had expressed desire for union with Turkey, but as she had many friends on League Turkish Government anticipated that latter would give a decision in December unfavourable to Turkey. In that case and on the day decision was announced Turks would cross Irak frontier and drive British out of Bagdad and Basra, they had 50,000 men concentrated near frontier and another 150,000 between Angora and Mosul.

Persian delegate said that Turkey would not be represented at Hague Court, quite well that population of Mosul Vilayet had expressed desire for union with Turkey, but as she had many friends on League Turkish Government anticipated that latter would give a decision in December unfavourable to Turkey. In that case and on the day decision was announced Turks would cross Irak frontier and drive British out of Bagdad and Basra, they had 50,000 men concentrated near frontier and another 150,000 between Angora and Mosul.

Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs replied that all contingencies had been foreseen, precautions had been taken at Constantinople and Smyrna, and whatever rest Turkey had a secret agreement with Russia, latter undertaking to provide arms, munitions of war and other assistance to Turkey in the event of war with England and to enter war as Turkey's ally if any other State or States joined Great Britain.

Persian delegate did not report earlier because he wished to see whether Turkey would be represented at The Hague or not. Turkish statement just reported from Constantinople to the effect that decision of The Hague Court overlooks principle of justice seems significant in this connection.

I cannot appreciate importance of this information, but thought it best to report fully  
(Sent to Delhi, No. 131, and Bagdad, No. 190.)

No. 79

Sir R. Lindsay to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received November 30)

(No. 133)

(Telegram hic.)

I HAVE already explained to you the position of the Mosul Vilayet, and the fact that the British Government has no objection to the Turkish Government's proposal to transfer the Mosul Vilayet to Turkey, provided that the Turkish Government will undertake to maintain the integrity of the Mosul Vilayet, and to refrain from any action which might lead to the dismemberment of the Mosul Vilayet.

The Turkish Government's proposal is a very important one, and it is one which the British Government has no objection to. It is a proposal which is in the interests of the Mosul Vilayet, and it is one which the British Government has no objection to.

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I imagine that strategical objections to this line on part of His Majesty's Government would be comparatively insignificant with Persia as neighbour instead of Turkey.

If Turkey had to be bribed to enter into this arrangement it might be possible to let her have northern part of mountainous region, say, down to Rowanduz, where Kurdish inhabitants have their chief affiliations with tribes living in Turkish territory. This might be the more necessary as Turkish Government would have to abandon finally all claim to Mosul town.

It would presumably be necessary to conclude a tripartite agreement with Persia by which latter would undertake not to cede to either Turkey or Irak any part of transferred territory. Turkish Government would doubtless present this as a regional pact of security proposed by Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs at Geneva.

Above is a very tentative proposal which I have put forward, and which I have no doubt is of very great importance. In submitting it, I admit to ignorance of important factors, especially probable reactions of Persian and Irak Governments, but I hope it may merit consideration.

E 7369/32/85

No. 80.

Sir R. Lindsay to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received November 30)

(No. 804. Confidential)

Sir,

Constantinople, November 22, 1925.

IN my telegram No. 130 of the 21st instant I have already reported briefly the substance of my conversations at Angora with the Turkish Ministers on the subject of the Irak frontier, and I will now furnish you with fuller details, though little passed that was of any great importance.

2 My colleagues at Angora tell me that my visit was looked forward to with considerable interest, but I do not think that Ministers really hoped for much from it. In their view, Tewfik Rushdy's conversation with me of the 1st October (my telegram No. 121 of the 2nd October) was an advance towards direct discussion; the official communiqué reported in my despatch No. 787 of the 18th October showed that they had given up hope that their suggestions would meet with any response, and they can hardly have expected that I should open the subject. Indeed in accordance with the tenor of my conversation I said to them that I should like to invite direct negotiations. In the first conversation I had with Tewfik Rushdy Bey I did not mention the word "Mosul" to him at all, and he responded by not mentioning it to me. I then said to him that I had to bring it up myself, and a good deal of talk ensued, most of it being a discussion of the Mosul Vilayet, and of the British Government's proposal to settle the whole matter out of hand, and with me answering by explaining the elementary principles of the trustee relationship in which we stood to Irak, and so forth, both of us covering old ground.

3 I said to Ismet that, looking at Anglo-Turkish relations in a broad way, one difficulty was that His Majesty's Government could not yet feel convinced that Turkey had abandoned the hope or the wish to recover territories lost in the late war. Ismet Pasha protested that Turkey did not want to acquire any Arab territories. I said that I could not help observing a puzzling contradiction in Turkish policy, on the one hand, Turkey was embarked on a campaign of reconstruction and modernisation, which was clearly very near to his Excellency's and to the Ghazi's heart, on the other hand, the country and Government never cease to clamour aggressively for the restitution of Mosul, which ethnographically was purely Arab and strategically, I was told, was of no importance whatever for the defence of Anatolia against any menace from the south. These two policies pursued simultaneously, were contradictory to and destructive of each other, how could His Majesty's Government feel any confidence in Turkish intentions under such circumstances? Ismet took the point up at once. He admitted that Mosul was Arab or mainly Arab, but added that there were "other elements of population in those regions." He emphasised the importance of the reconstruction programme by pointing to the immense sacrifices it was entailing on the country, and by saying that

fruition for twenty years. "These two policies," he said, "are, as you remark, contradictory and mutually destructive of each other, the one must be sincere and the other not sincere, and I leave your Excellency to decide for yourself which is which. If words have any meaning, this can only constitute a sweeping admission that the Turkish Government has been bluffing—but, as I can conceive of no reason why the Turkish Prime Minister should make any such admission to me, I incline to attribute the form of Ismet's answer to his imperfect command of French, merely pointing out to you the very sound common sense that underlies it."

4 At one moment Ismet mentioned to me the opposition that His Majesty's Government were encountering at home to their Irak policy. I took the opportunity to give him a warning against any act of folly; referring to the manner in which the Turkish Government had been unceasingly attacked every action that the Turkish Government took, I pointed out that press intonances were an unreliable guide to public opinion. The "Daily Mail" campaign had been a failure. If His Majesty's Government had committed aggression were committed against Irak, the Turkish Government would find themselves resented with surprising unanimity. Ismet answered that he quite understood that it was so in such circumstances in every country. I subsequently repeated to Tewfik Rushdi Bey the substance of my conversation with Ismet Pasha, and I detailed this part of it to him with emphasis. I also saw Reych Bey, the Minister of War, about some other business. I congratulated him on having so much money to spend, but I added that if, as common talk had it, some *coup de main* against Mosul was in the air, he must know it better than anyone. He merely answered "Oh, oui, Excellence."

5 Arising out of Ismet's remark reported above about the population of Mosul, I asked his Excellency whether the internal situation of Turkey would be affected if a frontier line were drawn so as to include any considerable number of Kurds in Irak. Ismet answered at once with considerable emphasis and earnestness that it certainly would be affected. Such an arrangement, he said quite frankly, would cause perpetual trouble for Turkey in her eastern vilayets, this was the essence of the menace to Turkish security, and, he said, the trouble would arise automatically, however loyally the British authorities might discharge their duties as neighbours. I have already expressed views to you in this same sense but I was interested to receive an impressive confirmation of them from Ismet Pasha.

6 Now, six weeks before, on the 1st October, I had put the same question to Tewfik Rushdi and had received from him an answer to the effect that the Kurds of Turkey were so happy that no trouble was to be expected from them. I answered so fully that I did not care to report it to you. I told Tewfik Rushdi of what Ismet had said to me, reminded him of what he himself had told me, and reproached him for having thus put me off the scent for six weeks. I then had five minutes' great amusement while Tewfik Rushdi floundered around in the most confused explanations. I should be glad if I could persuade myself that the incident may teach our Minister for Foreign Affairs that it is sometimes unnecessary to lie to a foreign representative.

7 Each time I have been to Angora I have returned with the impression that the Turkish State depends on the will of the President, and so it is in this matter. I have no doubt that the General Staff urges on him a *coup de main* against Mosul. "War," they would say, "might not follow, but, if it did, what could England do? Blockade our coasts? perhaps even seize the Straits? perhaps even Constantinople? but what would that matter? We should get any amount of ammunition from Russia, and we could carry on indefinitely." I feel certain that Ismet, who has some statesmanship, opposes these views, and I think Tewfik Rushdi is now supporting him for his mind seems to me now all taken up with ideas of reaching definite settlements with all adjoining and neighbouring States, and I believe that however far along the path of extremism he may go in the tactics of negotiation, strategically he is anxious to remain on reasonably decent terms with Great Britain. Between these opposing views the Ghazi holds the balance in his own hands, and if he leaves the decision to his better self there can be no doubt as to its nature. But where much depends on one man that man's personality becomes of importance, and unfortunately the Ghazi has very recently displayed in public his deplorable addiction to the two weaknesses which ruined the physical and mental capacities of so many of the Ottoman Sultans. The Europeans present on that occasion noticed that not one of the friends by whom he

was surrounded—and there were important and influential men among them—attempted to check his suggestions. Fortunately so far neither his health nor his capacity for work seems to have been materially affected by his excesses, and he appears still to maintain a curious sort of watertight compartment between his private indulgences on the one side, and on the other the more essential part of his public duties, but the personal weakness remains, and it is sad to think that it may constitute a danger to the interests of nations, though I think that for the time being the danger is kept in check.

8 I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner at Bagdad and His Majesty's Minister at Tehran.

R. C. LINDSAY

[E 7326, 175, 44]

No. 81.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain to Sir R. Lindsay (Constantinople)

(No. 1151.)

Foreign Office, November 30, 1925.

Sir,

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 785 of the 16th October, in the final paragraph of which you suggest that there are strong reasons for wishing that the League of Nations should be directed to take steps to ensure that the obligation in the direction of fostering nationhood in Southern Kurdistan.

2 I fully appreciate the force of your contention that Anglo-Turkish relations could be placed on a satisfactory footing, if only means were found to eliminate the "direct menace to the very heart of Turkish policy" which is implied in the proposal to found a sort of Kurdish National Home in Northern Irak just across the south-eastern frontier of Turkey.

3 His Majesty's Government are, however, to a considerable extent committed by the "Final Conclusions" of its report, as an essential condition for the union with Irak of the whole territory south of the Brussels line, that "regard must be paid to the desires expressed by the Kurds that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed for the administration of their country, the dispensation of justice, and teaching in the schools, and that Kurdish should be the official language of all these services. The commission held that it would be more advantageous for the territory to remain under Turkish sovereignty if this condition were not fulfilled and if League of Nations control were to terminate on the expiry (in 1928) of the existing Anglo-Irak treaty. It was evident that the League Council would be loth to disregard so emphatic a recommendation by the commission which it had appointed for the express purpose of laying before it "all information and all suggestions which might be of a nature to assist it in reaching a decision"; and Mr. Amery accordingly informed the Council on the 3rd September that "His Majesty's Government gladly given an assurance that the existing system, which does to a large extent carry out the recommendations of the commission, will be continued and made even more effective." On the 11th November Mr. Amery said in the House of Commons that "His Majesty's Government are prepared to continue the existing system, which does to a large extent carry out the recommendations of the commission, will be continued and made even more effective."

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5 I am ready to admit that, from the diplomatic point of view, there is a certain British interest to be served by reducing as far as possible the number of Kurds for whose government the Irak authorities are responsible, and, as regards administra-



"Any frontier which deprived Iraq of its richest corn districts and of a substantial part of its revenue, as well as of some of its best human material for the recruitment of its forces, and then left it, financially and militarily weakened with the problem of defending a strategically indefensible frontier, would impose upon it a task which would be entirely beyond its capacity, and for which the League could not expect the British Government or the British taxpayers to make themselves responsible."

1 am, &c  
AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

*Sir R. Lindsay to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. — (Received December 2.)*

Constantinople, November 30, 1925

President of the Republic and Prime Minister are still united closely and resolutely and are in favour of peace. They are supported assiduously by Ministers of Finance, Agriculture and Commerce. Ministers of War and Navy are inclined to fight to have their way. In Cabinet they meet with strong opposition. In Assembly vast majority of Deputies are in favour of attack on Mosul, and are kept in order only by strenuous efforts of group of Deputies devoted to the President. Worst symptom is that Fevzi Pasha, Chief of Staff, who now has political ambitions, is strongly urging *coup de main* against Mosul, and receives whole hearted support of corps of officers, whose loyalty to President is thus being undermined. Two groups omitted, a form of pressure which it is obviously extremely difficult for President to resist.

In Cabinet, Assembly and in army alike mainspring of aggressive tendency is due to terrible ignorance of everything outside Anatolia, and to absolute conviction that England will not fight under any circumstances. "Daily Mail" campaign in England had much to do with this. Everyone therefore thinks that Turks only have to march into Mosul and dig themselves in and it will all pass off. It is now no longer a matter of bluff but a contest between two parties in the State, both very much in earnest.

by dispelling ignorance prevailing at Angora as to results of an unprovoked aggression, and I regretted that I had not been able to make a full declaration of a statement in Parliament (my despatch No. 840). In view, however, of danger of present acute situation, I think its terms should be far more ambiguous, though it should maintain courtesy of form. This would be for the Angora public, but I would beg you also to consider sending for Turkish Ambassador and making a very plain statement to him for benefit of Turkish Government.

A further element of doubt and danger is President's health. He is drinking terribly hard, and has been warned in writing by his doctor to desist. He had some sort of illness a few days ago, but since then recovered. Fevzi is said to be strongest candidate for his succession.

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No 83

IN reply to his request for an interview, the Secretary of State received Lord Herbert of Lea. Sir William Tyrrell was present at the interview by desire of the Secretary of State.

In answer to Sir Austen's enquiry, Lord Inverforth said that he had asked to see the Secretary of State as, owing to his friendly and intimate relations with the Turks, which he thought would enable him to use his influence with a view to settling any difference between the British and Turkish Governments, he placed his services for this purpose at the disposal of His Majesty's Government, in the event of their wishing to avail themselves of his offer.

Sir Austen enquired as to the nature of Lord Inverforth's relations with the Turks, and in this connection explained that his enquiry was due to the fact that rumours had reached him from several distinct sources to the effect that Lord Inverforth was engaged in negotiations with the Turks on the basis of oil concessions in return for the cession of Mosul. The Secretary of State explained that the view held by successive British Governments was that the concession given by the former Turkish Government was valid and binding on the rulers of Mosul, whoever they might be; that His Majesty's Government could recognise no other concession; and that they must therefore regard any attempt to uproot it as opposed to British policy.

Lord Inverforth replied that he had no interests in Mosul oil, that he had had no dealings with the Turks in connection with it, and that his only interest was confined to British shipping interests, which he feared might be injured if the Turkish Petroleum Company were to be set up under British hands and put under foreign control. He therefore strongly urged that it should be tied up as closely as possible with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

Sir William Tyrrell explained to Lord Inverforth that the Turkish Petroleum Company was already a subsidiary company of the Anglo-Persian, that the British Government had associated with it French and American interests, and that, with its own preponderating influence, there was no danger of its drifting into foreign control.

The Secretary of State strongly emphasized the importance His Majesty's Government attached to the Turkish Petroleum Company, and they would consider any attack upon it as an unpatriotic act. They must maintain the validity of this company's concession, whatever the fate of Mosul might be. Lord Curzon had taken much trouble to secure both French and American participation in this company, so as to avoid all dangerous international rivalries, and until recently none had appeared. The Secretary of State could not explain the origin of the reports which had recently reached him from Paris and America, but he was glad to have received Lord Inverforth's assurance that neither directly nor indirectly, by himself or by others, had he entered into any negotiations or conversations in regard to a new concession for oil in Mosul with French, Americans or Turks.

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the spring of last year, informed the Turkish Ambassador here that the question of Mosul had been referred to the League of Nations by their two Governments, and that His Majesty's Government could be no party to surrendering the vital interests of Iraq in exchange for financial, trade or commercial concessions to British nationals. They were awaiting the decision of the League, and in so delicate a matter as this they did not think that the services of any intermediary could be safely employed, though they would always be ready to receive and consider any proposals for a settlement made directly to them by the Turkish Government.

Lord Inverforth said that he quite understood that in the present state of affairs nobody but a responsible Minister could be trusted to deal with the question.

Foreign Office, December 3, 1925

E 7485 32 65

No. 84.

Sir Austen Chamberlain to Sir R. Lindsay (Constantinople).

(No. 1150.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 4, 1925.

I INVITED the Turkish Ambassador to come and see me this morning.

I told his Excellency that I had a communication to make to him, but he himself had urgent work to do, and a conversation with me after the dinner which I gave to the signatories of the Locarno Treaty on Tuesday evening, and, as it was impossible for me at that moment to free myself from other duties, I invited him now to say whatever he had wished to express on that occasion. The Ambassador replied that he had merely wished to express the hope that we might find a friendly solution of our differences. He did not develop and evidently did not desire to develop this theme, and I accordingly made to him my own declaration.

I told his Excellency that it was the earnest desire of the British Government to cultivate friendly relations with the Republic of Turkey. Between our two countries there had been a traditional friendship. British blood had been shed in defence of Turkey. It was only when Turkey joined our enemies in the late war that a quarrel arose between us, and it was our desire to resume the relations of confidence and friendship which had formerly prevailed between us. His Majesty's Government had shown that their policy was inspired by a sincere desire for peace. They had effected a reconciliation with the country to which they had been most immediately and most bitterly opposed during the war, and they felt that it should be easier to restore good relations between Turkey and Great Britain than it had been to effect this reconciliation with Germany. I greatly regretted that our two Governments had not been able to settle the centuries of link between themselves without reference to any third party. Failing a direct settlement, our two Governments had agreed to refer the matter to the League of Nations, to respect, pending its decision, the boundary which it had provisionally fixed and, when its final decision was given, to accept the award. His Majesty's Government had renewed this assurance on every appropriate occasion. They had observed with regret that the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, when appearing before the Council in September last, had avoided renewing the Turkish acceptance and had sought to qualify it or to withdraw it. His Majesty's Government had observed the nature of the polemics indulged in by the Turkish Minister, and they had been deeply concerned by the position of affairs in the neighbourhood of the frontier, and I desired, while carefully avoiding even the appearance of menace, to call his Excellency's attention to the gravity of these public declarations and this concentration of troops and to the menace of an attack upon the frontier from the Turkish side which they would seem to convey. I could not be sure that the Turkish Government could contemplate a step which would not only be a flagrant breach of the engagements which they had undertaken with the League and with all that it stood for. The League was the greatest moral force existing in Europe and daily it was becoming a greater material force. Apart from the general condemnation which such a flagrant breach of international engagements would bring upon the Turkish Government, they must consider what under the terms of the Covenant of the League would

be the position of all the members of the League towards Turkey if it thus broke its engagements to the Council and defied the Council's judgment. I must add that the British Government was the mandatory for Iraq under the supervision of the League, that it could not allow an attack upon the frontier which the League provisionally fixed or might ultimately determine, and that, if Turkey were to make such an attack, it would be faced not only with the whole authority and power of the League of Nations, but with that of the British Empire. I said that I made these observations as one who earnestly desired peace and friendship between our nations. I felt that it would not be frank or loyal to leave for the Council meeting at Geneva without informing the Turkish Government how gravely His Majesty's Government viewed the situation and what must be the consequences of any attack on the frontiers of the mandated territory. But I added that, when once the decision of the League had been given, if it should prove to be in our favour, I was prepared, if desired by the Turkish Government, to enter into conversations to see whether any accommodations were possible which might render more acceptable to them a solution which as to the gravity of the issues involved and as to our friendly dispositions and desire to live in relations *de bon voisinage* with Turkey by the express desire of my Government.

The Ambassador asked me in the first case to define more exactly what I had meant. Was I contemplating some territorial concession? His Excellency had observed suggestions in the Press that a method of accommodation could be found in the grant of a loan to Turkey. He must say that the Turkish Government had never thought of bargaining for economic advantages, and that no satisfaction could be found in the pursuit of such an idea. I told the Ambassador in reply that I could make no promise, and could indicate no specific proposals. I had in fact none in my mind, but I excluded none. What I had wished to make clear to him was our friendly disposition and the fact that, when a decision had been given, if that decision were in favour of the line which we had defended, we should be glad to consider any possible method of rendering the decision of the Council more acceptable to the Turkish Government and thus promoting the friendship between our Governments and nations which it was our desire to attain.

His Excellency then asked me to enter into some detail as to territorial considerations. He insisted again that economic and financial considerations had been no part of the Turkish preoccupation, and in this connection he said that he desired to assure me that, if someone here had spoken of making a bargain with the Turkish Government on the basis of commercial concessions to British subjects and if they had come to him to enquire his views, this propaganda was in no way instigated by him and he had deemed himself unable to entertain such propositions. I accepted his Excellency's assurance as I was bound in courtesy to do, and took the opportunity of observing that I attached no importance to what emanated from the quarters to which he had alluded. They never would be countenanced by His Majesty's Government. They had no influence upon British policy and I had not supposed that his Excellency would allow himself to be engaged in any compromising conversations with them.

As regards the discussion of boundaries which he had opened, I said that I felt that at this moment we were too widely separated to enter usefully into such discussions. Perhaps when the Council's decision had been given, both sides might feel that proceeding from that decision as we necessarily must do, some accommodation was possible which neither of us could accept at this moment. I must, however, insist that I was making no promises and no proposals. I was anxious at the same time to assure him that it was our desire to live in amity with Turkey and that, if the decision were in favour of our claim, that would not, in our view, preclude the consideration of any possible arrangement for rendering the decision more easily acceptable to the Turkish Government.

The Ambassador repeated that nothing was likely to satisfy the Turkish Government except such a division of the disputed territory as would give a large part of it to Turkey. He and his Government were most anxious on their side to renew the friendly relations of which I had spoken, but a decision in favour of the present boundary must be unacceptable to Turkey. He did not wish to say that it would be forcibly resisted, but it would poison our relations.

I replied that I could add nothing to what I had already said. What had

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I am, &c

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No. 85.

*Foreign Office to Colonial Office.*

Foreign Office, December 4, 1923.

Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

The objection appears to Sir Austen Chamberlain to be as follows: The Persians are in general more long-suffering and milder than the Turks in their methods of government, except where the Bahai sect is concerned, and the Kurliab population of the territory in question might be free from oppression if transferred to Persian rule. But two difficulties arise.

4. In the first place, the commission appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to advise it regarding the solution of the Irak frontier question considered it more advantageous for the disputed territory to remain under Turkish sovereignty than to be placed under British control. The commission also considered that the conditions for the transfer of these districts were not fulfilled, and if the League of Nations control over the territory was to terminate in 1928 on the expiry of the existing Anglo-Irak treaty. The transfer to Persia of the region indicated by Sir R. Lytton would not therefore meet the recommendations of the commission, which the Council will certainly be reluctant to disregard. The commission, in framing their recommendations, clearly were guided by the principle that the interests of the League of Nations should be paramount.

the sway of an Arab Government at Bagdad which had been released from all mandatory control, and the same objection was

On the 10th of June 1941, the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, issued a proclamation that the United States was entering into a state of war with Germany. This was the first time that the United States had entered into a state of war with a European power. The proclamation was signed in the White House, and it was the first time that the President had used the word "war" in a public statement. The proclamation was a significant event in the history of the United States, as it marked the beginning of the United States' involvement in World War II. The proclamation was also a statement of the United States' commitment to the principles of democracy and freedom, which were being threatened by the Axis powers. The proclamation was a clear and unequivocal statement of the United States' position, and it was a statement that the American people could rely on. The proclamation was a statement of the United States' commitment to the principles of democracy and freedom, which were being threatened by the Axis powers. The proclamation was a clear and unequivocal statement of the United States' position, and it was a statement that the American people could rely on.

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{for } x \in X, \text{ let } \bar{x} = (x, 0) \in X \times \mathbb{R}^n, \text{ then } \bar{x} \in \bar{X} \text{ and } \bar{x} \in \bar{X} \text{ if and only if } x \in X \text{ and } 0 \in \mathbb{R}^n. \\ & \text{for } x \in X, \text{ let } \bar{x} = (x, 0) \in X \times \mathbb{R}^n, \text{ then } \bar{x} \in \bar{X} \text{ and } \bar{x} \in \bar{X} \text{ if and only if } x \in X \text{ and } 0 \in \mathbb{R}^n. \end{aligned}$$

Amery 5 inch bar on the 27 x 2 1/2 inch 28 lb I case

[illegible]

1 cm. &c.

LANCLOT OLIPHANT.

(Na 142)

{Telegraphic.} R.

Foreign Office, December 5, 1925.

SENT for the Turkish Ambassador 4th December

Treaty on 1st December he had expressed the wish to enter into conversation with me. I was now ready to listen to any views he might have to express. He replied that he had merely wished to express the hope that we should find a friendly solution of our differences, but he evidently did not desire to develop the theme, and I accordingly proceeded to make a declaration to him myself.

I assured him of the desire of His Majesty's Government to renew the traditional friendship between our countries that had been shattered by the war. His Majesty's Government had shown the peaceful basis of their policy by the recent reconciliation with Germany, and they felt that a restoration of good relations with Turkey would be easier than with Germany. I regretted the failure to settle the Irak frontier question by direct negotiation. Failing such direct settlement our two Governments had agreed to refer the matter to the League, meanwhile to respect the provisional boundary, and finally to accept the League's award. This latter pledge had been frequently renewed by His Majesty's Government, and its qualification or disavowal by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs at Geneva in September had caused them great regret. They had not failed to observe the nature of the utterances of the Turkish press and authorities. They were aware of the concentration of troops near the frontier, and I wished, while carefully avoiding any appearance of menace, to invite his Excellency's attention to the

innace of a Turkish attack which they seemed to suggest. I was loth to believe that his Government could contemplate a step in flagrant violation of their engagements to the League, and one that would bring Turkey into direct conflict with the British Empire. The Council of the League of Nations, by its unanimous moral condemnation deriving from a flagrant breach of international engagements, the Turkish Government must consider the position under the terms of the Covenant, of the members of the League towards Turkey should she break her engagements to the Council and defy the Council's judgment. His Majesty's Government, as mandatory for Iraq under the supervision of the League, could not allow an attack upon Iraq to go unresisted. Should Turkey make any such attack she would be faced with the authority and power both of the League and of the British Empire.

I said that I made these observations as one earnestly desiring peace and friend-  
ship between the League and the Turkish Empire. I then proceeded to Geneva for the Council meeting without informing the Turkish Govern-  
ment how gravely His Majesty's Government viewed the situation and what must  
be the consequences of any Turkish attack. But I added that once the decision of  
the League had been given, if it should prove to be in our favour, I was ready, should  
the Turkish Government so desire, to enter into conversations to see whether any  
accommodations were possible to render more acceptable to them a solution which  
disappointed their hopes. I informed his Excellency that it was by the express desire  
of His Majesty's Government to enter into the negotiation that, in the  
gravity of the issues involved and as to our desire for friendly relations.

The Turkish Ambassador asked me to define what I meant and whether I was contemplating territorial concessions. He repudiated suggestions appearing in the press that Turkey could be satisfied by the grant of a loan or by other economic advantages. I replied that I could make no promises, and that I had in fact, no specific proposals in mind, although I excluded none. I only wished to emphasise our friendly disposition and our readiness, should the decision be in favour of the line which we had defended, to consider any possible method of rendering the Council's decision more acceptable to his Government and thus promoting the friendship between the two countries.

His Excellency then, speaking in his personal capacity, began to discuss territorial arrangements. He repeated that no bargain based on financial, economic or commercial concessions to British subjects could affect the question, and any proposal based thereon was neither justified nor well considered by him. I accepted this assurance and added that I attached no importance to such rumours.

which would not be countenanced by His Majesty's Government and could not influence our policy.

such division of the disputed territory as would give a large part of it to Turkey. His Government reciprocated our desire for friendly relations, but a division in favour of the present boundary must be unacceptable to Turkey. He did not wish to say that it would be forcibly resisted, but it would poison our relations.

T E 7534/982 65

No. 607. Confidential.)

Tehran, November 19, 1925.

I have, &c  
PERCY LORAINÉ

Enclosure 1 to No. 87

(Confidential)

[illegible]

4. The Pasha Khan referred to in both despatches is the chief of the police in

I have, &c.  
PERCY LORAINÉ.

Enclosure 2 to No. 87

(No. 78.)

I HAVE the honour to report that Pasha Khan is now back in Tauris, and in an interview with Mirza Ali Khan gave the latter to understand that he had not met Turkish officers in Urumia, as had been reported to me, and I gather that the gravity of the situation has been greatly exaggerated.

[illegible]

4 With regard to the number of Turkish troops on the eastern frontier, Simko said that the 40,000 mentioned in persistent rumours were in the district of Van, and that there are not more than 5,000 on the Persian frontier. According to him, Fouzi Bey (Turkish Minister of War), is in command at Van. He said that these forces are well paid and well equipped, and are more than sufficient to cope with the British force at Mosul, which, he alleges, consist of Arabs and Assyrians and do not number more than 8,000.

5. Simko said that he had heard from Turkish sources that, in the event of armed conflict over the Mosul question, Turkey will receive material help from the Soviets.

7. I have no other reason to think that the British will be able to do anything in the Mergaver district and that there certainly is a danger of the Turks endeavoring in order to provide for their army, which could pass the Salmas, Urumia, Uahnu, and prepare for an attack on the danger to be for the present somewhat remote. He suggested, he doubts whether they would be able to bring up the necessary reinforcements through country which they have almost wholly depopulated. He says that many parts of the Turkish territory along the frontier district in question are already covered with snow, and he does not anticipate any trouble before next spring. He says that the British are not to be trusted and that the British are not to be trusted and that the British are not to be trusted.

It will be interesting to observe how far the news and views of Pradip Khan will tally with the information which I hope to receive in a few days direct from him.

B. GILLIAT-SMITH

Enclosure 3 in No. 87.

(No. 77.)

81.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 73 of the 5th instant, I have the honour to report that my messenger has now returned to Urumum that his report agrees in the main with what I have already heard from Pasha Khan and from Artsruni. There have been no Turkish officers in Urumum. Troops in the vicinity of Ushau and the



Mergavar district are said to number 5,000 to 6,000, but others are reported more numerous near Bash Kale and Gavar Dize.

2. Mubayyen-es-Sultana, Karguzar at Urumia, denies that any advances have been made to the Persian authorities by the Turks, and no one else in Urumia appears to know of such pourparlers having occurred. It would seem that the rumour originated, for what reasons is not clear, among the ranks of the Democrats at Tabriz, and notably Aga Zado, who likewise said that a Democrat had been sent to parley with the Turks.

3. Mubayyen-es-Sultana further says that Simko is playing a double game, and that it is not true that he is not in constant communication with the Turks, whom he meets every few days in the vicinity of Sari Dash. Pasha Khan has also given me a further report on his interview with Simko, in which he says that the latter alleges that he has quarrelled with Omar Khan owing to his having discovered that Omar was sent by the Persian authorities to poison him. Neither Pasha Khan nor M. Ali Khan believe this story, and they think that Simko has invented it as a blind in order to hide his real movements. Omar is suspected of being in close touch with the Turks.

4. Mubayyen-es-Sultana went on to say that Simko had lately been looting the Sindi villages, and, further, he had razed to the ground the houses of eleven families of Kurds inhabiting Salmas, who had refused to join him. Persian troops made a show of following up Simko's men after this raid. The Karguzar further said that no one understood that the Turks would fight over the Mosul question if they were not given entire satisfaction in accordance with their demands.

5. An Assyrian told my messenger that many of his compatriots who leave for Rowanduz and Mosul are in the pay of the Russian consulate, Urumia. The Karguzar, taking this as evidence of the Soviet Government's interest in the development of the dynasty question, and that they were counting on trouble.

6. To sum up, the report relative to the presence of Turkish officers negotiating with the Persians for the passage of troops appears to be false, but the Turks, according to reports from Simko, Artaruni, Mubayyen-es-Sultana and other sources, have an army of between 5,000 and 6,000 men, probably well equipped, in the vicinity of the Persian frontier, with reserves behind, who expect to receive orders to march on Rowanduz in the near future.

7. With regard to minor details, reports do not agree according to the Karguzar of Urumia. The Turks are now better known with the Kurds. This is in contradiction to the reports received from Artaruni and to those of Simko himself, which latter, however, others suggest may be deliberately inaccurate.

I have, &c.  
B. GILLIAT-SMITH

No. 68

The Marquess of Crewe to Sir W. Tyrrell.—(Received December 5.)

[By Bag.]

(No. 482 Confidential.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, December 7, 1925

Mr. PHIPPS mentioned to M. Berthelot in the course of conversation this afternoon how anxious His Majesty's Government were over the question of Mosul. M. Berthelot replied that he had the day before yesterday spoken with rough frankness on the subject to M. Undén. M. Berthelot made it quite clear to M. Undén that, placed between Turkey on the one side and Great Britain on the other, France had no kind of hesitation in ranking herself by the side of the latter. He said that the League of Nations was not a body which could be of any use, useful or of producing anything whatever. She could not govern, and her only speciality was massacre. M. Berthelot pointed out that France, both on account of her interests on the spot and of her general world interests, was absolutely determined to stand by Great Britain. If M. Undén imagined that by giving the Mosul question over to the League of Nations, and that of the League of Nations, that it would in any way be settling the dispute, he was very much mistaken. All that would happen would be that the entire Christian population allotted to Turkey in those regions would be massacred, and the League would incur

the odium. France herself had endeavoured to come to an arrangement with Turkey by the Treaty of Angora, and on six occasions had tried to settle the Turkish-Syrian boundary on the spot. Four times the Turks had failed to put in an appearance, and on the other two occasions they had, after a few hours' fruitless discussion, advanced such impossible pretensions that the negotiations had had to be broken off. Any undue encouragement to the Turks over Mosul would merely make them more intransigent elsewhere. M. Berthelot admitted that M. Undén had not seemed to be in the least shaken by these arguments. Mr. Phipps remarked that M. Undén appeared to be a rock, but M. Berthelot replied that he was merely an imbecile.

M. Berthelot said that M. Briand was fully determined to stand by Great Britain through thick and thin over this question, which was so serious a one for His Majesty's Government, and in return France would expect Great Britain in her turn to support France if serious occasion arose.

M. Berthelot said that only yesterday M. Briand had himself, in reply to a telephone call from M. Paul Boncour at Geneva, impressed upon the latter that he must support His Majesty's Government in every way. M. Paul Boncour not satisfied with this personal message from M. Briand, had to-day asked for written and definite instructions, which are being sent to him, but meanwhile M. Berthelot hopes that you will inform M. Paul Boncour that you have been told by M. Briand of his personal telephone message to him at Geneva, and that you therefore rely on him for full support.

M. Berthelot incidentally remarked that both he and M. Briand entirely disapproved of the ambiguous attitude which had been previously adopted in the matter by M. Loucheur.

M. Berthelot is convinced that the Turks are merely bluffing, for after Locarno they must realise that they will get no assistance from Germany, and, according to reliable information recently received by the French Government from Moscow, the Soviets have no intention of helping them either. M. Berthelot has seen the Turkish Ambassador several times lately, and says that he seems to be completely unnerved.

(Sent to Geneva.)

No. 89

Consul London to Sir W. Tyrrell.—(Received December 9.)

(No. 401)

(Telegraphic.) R

Geneva, December 8, 1925

FOLLOWING from Mr. Cadogan.—

Council at its sitting to-day considered a report by M. Undén recommending adoption of consultative opinion of Hague Court. Secretary of State for Colonies briefly referred to statement made by him on 16th September to the effect that assurances given by Lord Parmoor could not be held to be of effect if equivalent and reciprocal assurances given by Fethi Bey were withdrawn. The report of Council was then considered and the Council will not now arise, as reply of court had made it clear that authority of Council and obligation of parties to accept its decision were in no sense dependent on or affected by any assurances or declarations made by parties but were directly based on and implied in article 3 of Treaty of Lausanne. There could be no question of His Majesty's Government repudiating their treaty obligations. His Majesty's Government regarded themselves as bound to accept in advance decision which they asked Council to give.

Munir Bey read a long statement traversing legal conclusions of Hague Court, and towards the end basing himself on reference by court to fact that Council had endeavoured to reach a decision by mediation.

M. Undén subsequently pointed out that Council had certainly not lost sight of their mediatory function in this matter.

When President put adoption of report to the vote Munir Bey claimed that for this purpose a unanimity inclusive of Turkish and British was required.

After a prolonged adjournment, president (Signor Scialoja) announced that, while in his opinion this was a matter of procedure on which a bare majority was sufficient, it was in any case sufficient to point out that

under article 15 votes of parties concerned could not be counted in reckoning unanimity, and on this basis a unanimous vote was taken with only Turks voting against.

In discussion just before adjournment Munir Bey had produced a prepared declaration in which he said that Turkish delegation had no authority from Grand National Assembly to submit to arbitration so vital an issue, and that if Council decided to regard this as a matter for arbitration Turkish delegation could not take further part in proceedings or defend its position before Council. After president's statement he repeated substance of this, saying that he could regard any decision Council might take as a recommendation of which he could take cognisance and which he could communicate to Grand National Assembly, adding that once he and his colleagues were faced by an arbitral award their powers as a delegation came to an end."

(Sent to Constantinople and Bagdad.)

[E 7602 32 65]

No 90

Colonial Office to Foreign Office — (Received December 10)

Sir,

Downing Street, December 9, 1925.

I AM directed by Mr. Secretary Amery to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th December, 1925, regarding the suggestion made by His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople that the deadlock over the Irak frontier question might be solved by the cession of certain Kurdish districts to Persia.

2. In reply, I am to enclose a copy of a memorandum which Sir Henry Dobbs has furnished on the subject. I am to explain that Mr. Amery had an opportunity of discussing the matter with Sir H. Dobbs before he left for Geneva, and that he found himself in agreement with the High Commissioner's criticisms of Sir R. Lindsay's suggestion.

I am, &c.

J. E. SHUCKBURY

Enclosure in No 90

Memorandum by Sir Henry Dobbs respecting the suggested Transfer of Kurdish Areas of Irak to Persia

(Confidential)

I WILL examine the suggestion from the point of view of the Kurds, first, from the point of view of Irak, then from that of the Kurds, and lastly from that of Turkey.

#### (A) Irak Interests.

##### (1) Security

If Irak did not control the Kurdish mountains up to the crests of the nearest main ranges, the rich plains of Eastern Mosul, Arbil and Kirkuk would be subject to constant raids. The most important and elaborate line of defensive posts would have to be maintained, probably ineffectually. Raiding bands would be a constant menace to the Irak frontier. Persia's frontier would be a source of war. A proper control of her new Kurdish subjects would be beyond the power of Persia, and there would be frequent severe friction between Irak and Persia. I doubt whether the all-important new railway line, from Kirkuk via Arbil to Mosul, could be in such circumstances maintained. The same reasons which drive India to control her Pathan mountain-fringe drive Irak to do the same with regard to her Kurdish mountain fringe.

##### (2) Finance

The tobacco excise of Sulaimanieh brings into Irak yearly something like £200,000. She could ill afford to lose it.

##### (3) Politics

The Kurds are a steady factor in politics. They voted solid for the Anglo-Irak Treaty and always vote solid for the British connection. The result of their withdrawal could be incalculable. Moreover, without them, the Shiabs would have a predominance in the Irak Parliament. This would be intensely resented by the Irak Sunni ruling classes, and would place the bigoted, ignorant and reactionary Shiabs led by the Shiabs in power.

##### (B) Kurdish Interests

The Irak Kurds are all very devout Sunnis. Persia is Shiab, and her whole population, including the Kurds now within her borders, is Shiab, except for a few Kurdish tribes half within and half without her borders. The Irak Sunni Kurds would, I believe, fight to the death against subjection to Persia. They would regard their transfer to Persia by Great Britain as a monstrous betrayal, especially as it is they who have consistently supported the British connection. It is true that they have recently been disquieted with Turkey owing to Mustafa Kemal's anti-religious policy, but they are not so disaffected as to support Persia. Persia would treat her Kurds quite as rigorously as Turkey, although she will probably not be strong enough to carry this policy out so thoroughly as Turkey.

##### (C) Turkish Interests

The main purpose of Turkish policy towards her Kurds is well known to be that she may break down the Kurdish wall which is interposed between herself and the Turkish population of the Persian Province of Azerbaijan. The first object of the plan is to break down the wall, and we know that Mustafa Kemal, in amazing ignorance of Persian sentiment and of certain Bolshevik opposition, went so far as to instruct the Turkish Ambassador at Tehran to negotiate with Persia for the cession of Azerbaijan to Turkey. The transfer of the Kurds between Amadia and Rowanduz to Persia would give Persia a wedge on the flank of the Turkish route to Azerbaijan, would defeat the object of the Turks in their Kurdish policy and would be highly displeasing to them. I believe they would prefer to see the Kurds remain under Irak.

The root of the Turkish suspicion against us is the clause in the Treaty of Sevres which provided for an independent Kurdistan. I have steadily pursued in Irak a policy of taking the edge off Kurdish national sentiment, and of assimilating the administration of the Kurdish tracts to that of the rest of Irak. Between Amadia and Rowanduz Kurdish national sentiment has now practically ceased to exist. Along the eastern Irak border, from Rowanduz to Halebn, it persists, but much modified, and will disappear as soon as the half mad Sheikh Mahmud is eliminated. The only privileges now enjoyed by the Kurds are that, as far as is consistent with good administration, Kurdish-speaking officials are appointed in their districts, Kurdish is taught side by side with Arabic in the schools, and, in the purely Kurdish tracts, subordinate officials are allowed to correspond with divisional headquarters in Kurdish. Divisional headquarters, however, have to correspond with the Central Government in Arabic. Petitions may be presented in Kurdish. This is not autonomy in any form, and the administrative bonds which attach the Kurds to Irak are being ever more tightly drawn.

It seems possible that, if this state of affairs were carefully and patiently explained to the Turks, and if we were to pledge ourselves that the foregoing policy will be steadily pursued, their suspicions might be lessened, while at the same time the present Kurdish policy of Irak adequately fulfils the pledges given by Mr. Amery at Geneva last September in regard to the future treatment of the Kurds.

H. DOBBS

December 6, 1925.



Consul London to Sir W. Tyrrell.—(Received December 11.)

(No. 408)

(Telegraphic) R.

Geneva, December 10, 1925

FOLLOWING from Mr. Cadogan.—

Following are conclusions of General Laidoner's report, which was read to the Council this morning

1 Raids by tribal and village chiefs from one side of the Brussels line to the other are ordinary frontier incidents and inevitable so long as frontier question is not definitely settled and line has not been marked out on the spot

2. Occupation of villages during the summer and autumn by Turkish military posts and patrols is confirmed. Commission ascertained that all villages mentioned in British protest (Dersbush Nuzar, etc.) are south of the Brussels line. Turkish local authorities seem to be aware of this, as no Turkish posts now exist south of the line, and if they refrain henceforward from sending posts and patrols into this area question of violation of frontier might almost be regarded as settled

3. General Laidoner could not express a formal opinion regarding Turkish protests about flights of British aircraft north of the line, as he had not been able to make investigation in Turkish zone, but explained that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to determine exact position of aircraft from the ground owing to mountainous character of the country and height and speed of the machines. Also Turks may consider villages mentioned in paragraph 2 to be north of the line, but they are in fact to the south, and British aircraft have frequently flown over them

4. Above incidents are not of any importance as regards Council's decision. Deportations of Christians are infinitely more important, as they are causing fairly serious and easily comprehended agitation and nervousness among Christian population south of the Brussels line and in the whole of Mosul Vilayet, and also among pro-Irak population of Mosul. There are now some 3,000 deported Christians in Zakho district, and every day isolated groups continue to arrive in Irak. Refugees also include a small group of Moslems. Persons from various villages were interviewed separately in detailed and impartial manner, including certain refugees just arrived from their homes who had not come into contact with Irak local authorities or with compatriots already in Irak. All statements agree that Turkish soldiers under command of officers occupied villages, obtained delivery of all arms, imposed very heavy fines, demanded women, pillaged houses and subjected inhabitants to atrocious acts of violence, going as far as massacre and that deportations took place *en bloc* *en masse* to a district farther removed from Brussels line. Several persons fell ill on the way and were abandoned others died of starvation and cold, having been unable to take food or clothing with them. All who have arrived are in an absolutely pitiable state, in spite of Irak Government's subsidies and financial help from persons and institutes in England. They have nothing to hope for at present, and it is practically impossible to find work for them. Fact that they arrived without any means of subsistence furnishes definite evidence that all were constrained by violence to leave their homes

"General Laidoner added that a telegram received from Colonel Jac, who stayed behind at Mosul, indicated all quiet on the Brussels line, and that a further more detailed report would shortly be presented to the Council

"Council noted report and asked General Laidoner to remain at the disposal of the sub-committee"

(Sent to Constantinople and Bagdad)

Consul London to Sir W. Tyrrell.—(Received December 11.)

(No. 410.)

(Telegraphic) R.

Geneva, December 10, 1925

FOLLOWING from Mr. Cadogan.—

"Council met this morning in public and heard report by General Laidoner and also letter from Turkish delegation regarding their present position. Report of which is contained in my telegrams Nos. 401 and 408. Subsequently Council heard a long explanation from Hungarian representative regarding admittance of various portions of population of Hungary to schools and universities in his country, and it was agreed that further time should be given *rapporteur* to frame his report in the light of explanations given by Hungarian representative

"Complaint of Albanian Government regarding deportation to Anatolia of Moslems of Albanian origin in Greece was heard, and also reply of representative of mandatories of League (Mixed Commission for Exchange of Populations). It was decided that minutes of meeting would be sent to Mixed Commission and to Greek Government and that Council should examine this question at its next session

"The 22nd March next was approved as date for next meeting of Advisory Commission for Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People

"Subsequently Council met in secret and approved appointment of Colonel de Reyner, formerly president of Danzig Harbour Board, as provisional records commissioner for the future Saar plebiscite

"It was decided to refer request of Permanent Mandates Commission for remuneration to supervisory commission in order that Council might re-examine the matter at its next session and decide whether request should be referred to Assembly. Grant of an exceptional allowance to military attachés who had enquired into recent incidents between Bulgaria and Greece was approved"

Consul London to Sir W. Tyrrell.—(Received December 10.)

(No. 411.)

(Telegraphic) R.

Geneva, December 10, 1925

FOLLOWING from Mr. Cadogan.—

My telegram No. 408

Turkish delegation declined invitation to attend meeting. Essential passage of their letter, which was read out to Council, is as follows:—

"Since members of Council who voted for adoption of Hague court's opinion regard Council as having right to take a binding decision without counting votes of the two interested parties, and since Turkish delegation (as was explained at meeting on 8th December) have no powers to represent Turkey save before Council acting in accordance with article 8 or article 15 of Covenant, the delegation regret that they cannot accept invitation which they have just received, although they would have been disposed to accept if authority which they possess permitted them to do so."

"Letter was signed by Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, although present in Geneva, did not appear at meeting on 8th December"

(Repeated to Constantinople and Bagdad)

No. 94

*Consul London to Sir W. Tyrrell.—(Received December 12.)*

(No 418.)

(Telegraphic) R.

Geneva, December 12, 1925

FOLLOWING from Mr Amery:—

"Turkish delegation were invited to attend meeting of sub-committee but did not receive an answer but merely an acknowledgment to letter quoted in official communication. Turkish Assembly had pronounced itself concerning Council's 'recommendation' of 8th December to accept Hague Convention. Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Tansu, was always ready to meet members of sub-committee privately if a proposal were made to him which he felt able to recommend to his Government and Assembly with a view to facilitate conciliation.

"Secretary replied that Council desired, in accordance with opinion of its members, to take a mediatory action. Council had never ceased to exercise this function and wished sub-committee to make final attempt at mediation. This was the object of the meeting to which Turks had been invited.

"Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs replied that ever since Mosul question first came before the Council Turkey had received no conciliatory proposal from the Council regarding settlement of the dispute. He had therefore read secretary's letter with great astonishment. It was inconceivable that sub-committee's meeting should be regarded as destined to terminate mediatory rôle conferred on the Council by article 3 of Treaty of Lausanne unless conciliatory proposals had been made without his knowledge to Great Britain and rejected by her. Turkey, as was well known, had repeatedly given proof of her conciliatory spirit.

"I myself attended and in answer to question whether we could not arrive at a settlement by mutual agreement, pointed out difficulty of arriving at any common ground as a basis from which to start in face of a claim which was in fact a demand for reversal of *status quo* set up after the war, incompatible with principle of self-determination. We were anxious to come to an amicable settlement, but only effective starting-point for this was a decision by the League."

(Sent to Constantinople and Bagdad)

No. 95

*The Marquess of Crewe to Sir W. Tyrrell.—(Received December 15.)*

[By Bag.]

(No 493 Confidential.)

(Telegraphic)

Paris, December 14, 1925

Mr PHIPPS saw M Berthelot this afternoon and enquired whether he could tell him anything about the activities in Paris of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, who arrived yesterday morning from Geneva and returned there last night. M Berthelot said that Tewfik Rushdi Bey had been met yesterday at the station by General Mougin, who had been inclined to accede to Tewfik's request to take him to see M Briand at Cocherel. Not only did M Berthelot prevent this directly he heard of it, but he himself declined to see the Turkish Minister who therefore left Paris without having seen M Briand or M Berthelot. Mr. Phipps enquired whether Tewfik Rushdi had seen either M Chircherin or M Rakovski, and M Berthelot declared that he was convinced that he had not done so in spite of certain declarations of Tewfik Rushdi in the French press (see my despatch No. 2670 of to-day).

2 M Berthelot's Turcophobia seems to have become more healthy than ever. He continues to believe that the Turks are merely bluffing, in spite of somewhat

nervous telegrams received from the French Ambassador at Constantinople. He even gave Mr Phipps the impression that he would deplore any tendency on the part of His Majesty's Government to retreat in any way from their position over Mosul. He lashed out against General Mougin, whom he described as a mere agent of M Franklin-Bouillon, and as being more of a Turk than a Frenchman. If M Briand, who only returned late this afternoon from the country, acts in accordance with a minute which M. Berthelot read out to Mr Phipps, General M. Berthelot would spend a very disagreeable quarter of an hour for having met the Turkish Minister at the station and for having risked placing M Briand in an awkward position *vis-à-vis* of Great Britain by suggesting that he should escort him to the train.

3. M Berthelot's Turcophobia has not made him any more Italophile than usual, for he inveighed against Signor Scialoja whose attitude and language on the Council of the League he described as "lounge," and as calculated to favour the postponement of a decision over Mosul to the spring, when the melting of the snows would be to the advantage (a) of the Turks and (b) of fishers in troubled waters (i.e., Italy).

4. M Berthelot continues to believe that Turkey will get no support from the Soviets beyond what might be described as "diplomatie," that is to say none at all. (Copy sent to Geneva)

No. 96

*Consul London to Sir W. Tyrrell.—(Received December 15.)*

(No 430)

(Telegraphic)

Geneva, December 15, 1925

FOLLOWING from Secretary of State for the Colonies for Lord CECIL

"At a late hour yesterday evening Avenol informed me Council had decided to fix definitely on Brussels line, subject, however, to decision becoming of no effect and question opened again if new treaty embodying mandatory conditions of current treaty is not carried through and ready for submission to League by a certain date. He officially transmitted to me question asking me to state definitely within what time His Majesty's Government would be in a position to submit to Council of League of Nations, in the same way as was done with present treaty, a new treaty for twenty five years embodying clauses in present treaty which Council's resolution of 27th September, 1924, accepted as equivalent to clauses of other A mandates. I have replied as follows:—

(R) "In answer to question put to me by Council, I see no difficulty in submission within six months from present date of a new treaty with Iraq which will continue mandate responsibility towards League which is embodied in current treaty and in League decision of 27th September, 1924, for twenty five years or until such early date as Iraq is, in the opinion of Council, qualified for admission to membership of League.

"I need not assure Council that His Majesty's Government is anxious to arrive at a final settlement of this question at [? omitted earliest] possible date." (End of R)

"Avenol is transmitting verbally our view that we confidently expect to have treaty ready for March session, if not before. The mandatory clauses referred to in question fall within conditions laid down by Cabinet for my guidance, nor [? would their] continuance in a new treaty affect policy embodied in military and financial agreements of bringing our military expenditure on Iraq to an end after terminating present treaty period. As regards twenty five years, Avenol assures me decision which [group undecipherable] is drafting will make it clear that it is a maximum. Both Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and I regard this as under all the circumstances a satisfactory arrangement. I have no objection to the statement of Parliament in signing the new treaty, and we judge it advisable Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will make on announcement of our decision the statement which you suggested as to our anxiety to come to friendly arrangement with Turks."



*The Marquess of Crewe to Sir Austen Chamberlain. — (Received December 16)*

(No. 495.)

[By Bag]

Paris, Dec. 14, 1925

The Ambassador of the Soviets called on me this morning, he having recently presented his credentials to the French Government.

After some conversation about M. Krassin, whose health M. Rakovski thought would be improved by his not having to take from London the frequent journeys to Moscow which were involved in his tenure of an official post there as well as of the question of the frontier line, the Ambassador said he was anxious to repeat to me what had already appeared in the English press as a *démenti*, that no treaty obligations of any kind existed between Russia and Turkey which would oblige the former to support the latter in case of a rupture occurring over the frontier line. Further than that, his Government had no intention of interesting themselves in this question in any form, they were far too much occupied with difficult internal questions to engage in any foreign dispute. He would not deny that he regarded the Turks and their Government with no little sympathy, and he hoped that the forthcoming decision of the Council, which he understood might entail a period of delay, might lead to something in the nature of a compromise being reached. He thought we should agree that it could not be wise to leave an open sore, which would prevent friendly relations between the two countries, as in the case of the frontier line in Bessarabia, which the Soviet Government had deliberately refrained from occupying by force, as they might have done with ease after the war with Poland, when there were 200,000 Red troops of good quality collected at a short distance.

He went on to speak with great bitterness of the Roumanian administration of Bessarabia, citing the case of an officer who had been guilty of a series of atrocious murders, and who, being removed from civil jurisdiction, was unanimously acquitted by a military court in the face of convincing evidence.

During this brief formal interview M. Rakovski said nothing of commercial or other relations with Great Britain.

No 98

*Consul London to Sir W. Tyrrell. — (Received December 16)*

(No. 492.)

(Telegraphic)

Geneva, December 16, 1925

FOLLOWING from British delegation:—

"Substance of my telegram No. 430, except last paragraph, has been transmitted to the Council. I had hoped to have been able to make a more detailed presentation of report to Council."

No 99

*Consul London to Sir W. Tyrrell. — (Received December 16)*

(No. 435.)

(Telegraphic)

Geneva, December 16, 1925

FOLLOWING for Prime Minister and Cabinet from Sir Austen Chamberlain and Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

"Decision to be given at 8. Not yet settled as to whether Brussels line fixed definitely subject to review if we do not make new treaty within given period, or whether fixed conditions come into full effect when we have made treaty. In either case, we both feel it of the greatest importance that there should be debate covering Parliament assent before Christmas, so that Council can be specially convoked for submission of treaty as soon as possible afterwards. Immediate approbation by Parliament and very early conclusion of treaty will produce immense effect on Council, and our best friends urge it strongly for effect on our prestige. Sir Austen Chamberlain, in particular, considers it of first consequence for foreign policy that approval of House of Commons should be given before adjournment."

No 100

*Consul London to Sir W. Tyrrell. — (Received December 17)*

(No. 487.)

(Telegraphic) R.

Geneva, December 16, 1925

FOLLOWING from British delegation:—

"Following is text of decision taken by Council unanimously this afternoon:—

1. Frontier between Turkey and Iraq shall be as follows: (Here follows geographical description of Brussels line as in Council's resolution of 29th October, 1924.)

"2. British Government is invited to submit to Council a new treaty with Iraq, ensuring continuance for twenty five years of mandatory régime defined by treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Iraq and by British Government's undertaking approved by Council on 27th September, 1924, unless Iraq is, in conformity with article 1 of Covenant, admitted as a member of League before expiry of this period.

As soon as—within a period of six months from present date—execution of this stipulation has been brought to the knowledge of the Council, the Council shall declare that present decision has become definitive, and shall indicate measures required to ensure delimitation on the ground of frontier line.

"3. British Government, as mandatory Power, is invited to lay before Council the administrative measures which will be taken with a view to securing for Kurdish populations guarantees regarding local administration recommended by commission in its final conclusions.

"4. British Government as mandatory Power, is invited to act as far as possible in accordance with other suggestions of Commission of Enquiry, as regards measures likely to ensure pacification and to afford equal protection to all elements of population and also as regards commercial measures indicated in special recommendations of commission's report.

(Sent to Constantinople and Bagdad.)

No 101

*Consul London to Sir W. Tyrrell. — (Received December 17)*

(No. 438.)

(Telegraphic) R.

Geneva, December 16, 1925

FOLLOWING from British delegation:—

"Council has decided by a very large majority that, in the event of a decision which was announced that, if possible, either Czechoslovak or Estonian representative on General Laidoner's mission should remain in Iraq, whilst the other came home, subsequently returning to relieve his colleague. If this proved impossible Czechoslovak or Estonian Government, as case might be, would be invited to send substitute. It was also suggested that Czechoslovak representative should remain for three months in first place."

(Repeated to Constantinople and Bagdad.)

No 102

*Consul London to Sir W. Tyrrell. — (Received December 17)*

(No. 439.)

(Telegraphic) R.

Geneva, December 16, 1925

FOLLOWING from British delegation:—

"Turkish delegation did not attend meeting of Council this afternoon, at beginning of which following letter from Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs was read:—

I should like to renew declaration made by Munir Bey to meeting on 8th December with regard to powers of our delegation. I would add

[14003]

That is to be said, that I have previously made with the effect of arriving at the settlement and with a view to a profitable one of the said territory, and that what we have now negotiated is the sale of the said territory to the said State, and that I am obliged to inform you that my proposals referred to above have been accepted by the said State, and that therefore our sovereign rights over the whole Vilayet of Mosul remain intact.

For sale by the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20540. Price \$1.50. **U.S. GPO**

(Repented to Constantinople and Bagdad.)

No. 103

1. The number of vertices in the graph is  $n$ . The number of edges is  $m$ . The number of connected components is  $k$ . The number of cycles is  $c$ . The number of paths is  $p$ . The number of trees is  $t$ . The number of forests is  $f$ . The number of spanning trees is  $s$ . The number of Hamiltonian paths is  $h$ . The number of Hamiltonian cycles is  $h_c$ . The number of Eulerian paths is  $e$ . The number of Eulerian cycles is  $e_c$ . The number of acyclic orientations is  $a$ . The number of linear extensions is  $l$ . The number of topological sorts is  $t_s$ . The number of permutations is  $p_n$ . The number of derangements is  $d_n$ . The number of involutions is  $i_n$ . The number of partitions is  $p_n$ . The number of set partitions is  $B_n$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into  $k$  parts is  $p(n, k)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts is  $p(n, \leq k)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into exactly  $k$  parts is  $p(n, = k)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at least  $k$  parts is  $p(n, \geq k)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1 or 2 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, or 3 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, or 4 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, or 7 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, or 8 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, or 9 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, or 10 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, or 11 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, or 12 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, or 13 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, or 14 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, or 15 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, or 16 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, or 17 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, or 18 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, or 19 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, or 20 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, or 21 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, or 22 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, or 23 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, or 24 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24)$ . The number of partitions of  $n$  into at most  $k$  parts with no part greater than  $k$  and no part equal to 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, or 25 is  $p(n, \leq k, \leq k, \neq 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23,$

(No. 441)

(Télégraphique) R

NY telegram No 437

Following is text of statement of Colonial Secretary at meeting of Council —

[illegible]

Following is Mr. Arsen's "highlighted" statement:

[illegible]

In order to see whether we are taking a short-termist or a longer-termist view, it may be possible to infer relations between the two countries easier and safer. With this view in view, the Government has revealed the above information on any proposal made by Iraq's Government which seems to be in line with their duty as mandatory to protect interests of the people of Iraq.<sup>6</sup>

\*Repeated to Constitution pre-1900. Repeated

105

$$f(x) = g_1(x) + g_2(x) + \dots + g_n(x) \quad \text{where } g_1(x) = \frac{1}{2}x^2, g_2(x) = \frac{1}{3}x^3, \dots, g_n(x) = \frac{1}{n}x^n \quad (1)$$

(No. 78.)

(Telegraphic.)

Beirut, December 18 1925

FOLLOWING for Air Ministry from liaison officer -

\* Unconfirmed reports state that 6,000 Turks have moved eastwards by road since beginning of November. French have detained fifty westward bound machine guns. Muslim Mobilisation reported at Irbid.

Large number of soldiers lost. Rebel army of 100,000 attacked by rebels to-day. Communications between Haabrya and Judeide cut."

(Repeated to Bagdad and Palestine)

No. 105

Sur H : l'opérateur  $\mathcal{H}$  est tel que  $\mathcal{H}^2 = I$  et  $\mathcal{H}^* = \mathcal{H}$ . On a donc  $\mathcal{H} = \frac{1}{2}(I + \mathcal{H}) + \frac{1}{2}(I - \mathcal{H})$  et on définit

(No 151)

(Telegraphi)

Foreign Affairs December 10 1925

My first Ambassador at Paris was conversant with the cause in 1811. He could speak Turkey & English. As you perceive, the same time was anxious to point what had been reported in English press as *rumor*. I was really ignorant of the existence of a Russian and Turkey war, & would not be the least concerned in the case of a rupture occurring over the matter. I regret that the Government had the misfortune of interesting themselves in this question too late. The war was a fearful one, & occupied with bloody & terrible consequences, & a very cruel spirit.

[ E 7916/82 65 ]

No 14

Noting that  $\mathcal{H}^1(\mathbb{R}^n) \subset \mathcal{H}^1(\mathbb{R}^n)$  and  $\mathcal{H}^1(\mathbb{R}^n) \subset \mathcal{H}^1(\mathbb{R}^n)$ , we have

(No. 904)

三

Received by the Librarian 15 12 25

Therefore, the F1 and F2 data provide a more complete picture of the phonological processing of the word *water* than the F3 data alone. The F1 and F2 data show that the first two formants of the word *water* are the most important for the identification of the word. The F3 data show that the third formant is also important for the identification of the word. The F1 and F2 data show that the first two formants of the word *water* are the most important for the identification of the word. The F3 data show that the third formant is also important for the identification of the word.

[illegible]

The Table as far as I can follow it, and the notes on the page 10, No. 10, now has been added to the press, and is less than 100 pages long.



*détente*, which has been noticed by at least two of my diplomatic colleagues here, who have no knowledge of the long agony as to the Turkish Ambassador in London 1911-14-1934.

I have, &c.  
R. C. LINDSAY

*Sir R. Lindley to Sir Austen Chamberlain — (Received December 21)*

Constantinople, December 20, 1925

Nevertheless, I cannot at present see or hear of any symptoms of immediate danger.

If you are willing to prevent a deadlock from arising, I suggest that you send for Turkish Ambassador and tell him that if the Turkish Government desires any direct discussions to take place you are ready to send me to Angora for the purpose.

(Reported to Baghdad)

No. 107

Sir R. Lindsay to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 21)

*E. v. r. f. v. j.* Dec 15 1925

E 7981 \$2 651

No. 109

*Speeches delivered by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs in the House of Commons on December 21, 1925.*

128K

THE PRIME MINISTER · I beg to move—

" That this House approves the action taken by the representatives of His Majesty's Government at Geneva in accepting the award of the Council of the League of Nations on the Irak boundary "

This motion which has been put on the paper deals only with the approval which the House gave to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for the Colonies for their recent action at Geneva in accepting, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the award of the Council of the League of Nations as to the frontier of the Irak boundary. Their action in this matter has, however, only been a continuation of action taken by a series of successive Governments as the approval of the House in regard should, in equity, be asked on redressors as well as ourselves. The undertaking to accept the award of the League, as deciding the question of the Irak frontier, was given in the first instance by Lord Curzon when he signed the Treaty of Lausanne two years ago, and by my right hon. friend the leader of the Opposition when he was responsible for the execution of that Treaty in the following year. The undertaking was solemnly renewed at Geneva by Lord Palmerston in September last year on behalf of the late Government.

That undertaking does not stand by itself as a particular policy adopted by us with reference to a particular dispute. It is only one instance of the application of a principle to which all parties have been committed ever since the Covenant of the League of Nations was included in the Treaty of Versailles—I mean the principle

2. It is extremely difficult and perhaps unnecessary to summarise or reproduce Ismet Pasha's highly elusive arguments. He deals shortly with the question of the rôle of the League Council—whether it should be arbitral or mediatory, and devotes far the greater part of his discourse to General Laidoner's report and the deportations of November 1915. The substance of his statement about deportations appears to be that the native Christians compromised themselves in the "events" of 1921 by their complicity with Irak espionage and recruiting services is proved, and that they have thought it well to escape across the frontier.

3. Perhaps the most noticeable thing about this speech is its general tone, which is distinctly subdued. So far from being a trumpet call to action, it is the speech of a Minister trying to persuade his Parliament that he has done all that

It is for these reasons that I regard this motion as, in effect, one of general approval of the whole of the award which our friends have taken up, not only on the Iraq frontier question, but on even wider issues, and I venture to express the hope that it may have the unanimous support of this House. I do not, in making that suggestion, wish for a moment to suggest that this House should be committed by to-night's discussion to the actual terms of the treaty which we will endeavour to conclude with the Iraq Government in pursuance of the award. While the power to ratify such a treaty is one which, constitutionally, does not depend on the vote of this House, we have a question of ratifying the proposed treaty until the House at its reassembly has had an opportunity of discussing, far more adequately than it could to-night, the actual provisions of that document. It is only the general principle of the award which I want to bring before the House to-day, and I am asking the House to confirm to-night, and it will be confirmed, I trust, in such a manner as will enable His Majesty's Government to put into effect their policy of sustaining the authority of the League as an instrument of world peace. It is, I know, alleged that the conditions coupled with this award are conditions which involve both the assumption for a very long period of time of unnecessary costly and dangerous commitments, and the violation of assurances and pledges given by this House with regard to the termination of our responsibilities in Iraq. Let me deal first briefly with the latter accusation. I have been charged again and again, mainly in certain parts of the press with having undertaken to assume the responsibility for or interest in Iraq after August 1924. As evidence of that pledge they have reproduced in type of every conceivable magnitude one or two sentences of a statement made in Bagdad by Sir Percy Cox which I read out to the House as embodying the policy of His Majesty's Government. These sentences run as follows:—

"Both parties being equally anxious that the commitments and responsibilities of His Majesty's Government in respect of Iraq should be terminated as soon as possible it is agreed that the period of the treaty in its present form can conveniently be shortened. It is understood that the present treaty shall terminate upon Iraq becoming a member of the League of Nations, and in any case not later than four years from the ratification of peace with Turkey."

" Nothing in this protocol shall prevent a fresh agreement from being  
contracting parties, and negotiations for that object shall "

"to entered into between them before the expiration of the above period"—

It is too late in the day now to go back on that and to ask ourselves whether, in the first place, we were wise to accept that mandate or not. That was done. But having undertaken the mandate, with the approval of this House, no mandatory is entitled simply to throw up his mandate and leave chaos in its place.

There has really been no inconsistency, let alone breach of faith, in the policy pursued by successive Governments in this matter. They have all been, as we are to-day, determined that the period during which the British taxpayer should be burdened with expenditure upon Iraq should come to an end as soon as possible. We were certainly not the only Government which held that view, and we were not the special military liability bound up with it should come to an end, and we believe we can substantially fulfil our intentions in this respect, but neither the Government of which I was head in 1923, nor the Labour Government which succeeded us, contemplated that the special connection between ourselves and Iraq should or could come to an end in 1927 when we were still far from ready to sever our relationship towards the League of Nations unless we were able before that date to prove that Iraq had reached a position of stability in government which would justify her admission into the League of Nations.

[illegible]

The undertaking we have given is for a period of twenty-five years, but for what I conceive is the Secretary of State of the United States to the Council will be a far shorter period, and a much smaller one as well. It is not to the League of Nations that Iraq has secured the right to apply with a view to becoming a membership of the League. It is not an undertaking to spend money on or to keep troops in Iraq, either for the maintenance of internal order or for its defence against external attacks. It is merely to permit a period of aid and advice in building a stable and healthy State.

In view of these facts it will be reasonable to conclude that after the termination of the treaty relationship there would be no legal basis for Power House's claims or responsibilities towards the United States. The fact that the United States and the League of Nations, she were the victim of unprovoked aggression, would certainly not be diminished by any treaty relationship with another State which was not itself the aggressor.

The responsibility towards a State over which it exercises a mandatory supervision, and if the aggression in question was directed to the forcible overthrow of the boundary fixed by the Council of the League itself, the responsibility of the League, as the authority directly challenged and affronted, would obviously be the primary and



dominant one. Our responsibility in any future situation must necessarily depend on the circumstances of that situation. The action which we should take and the measure and extent of any support which we might give in a particular case cannot be fixed in advance or be a matter of prior obligation. They must be determined by the Government of the day, if ever the case arises, in the light of the then existing circumstances of world peace and the general interests of the Empire.

I will say a word or two on that statement. The conditions which the League has laid down do not affect in any way our policy in making Iraq stand on its own feet in respect to its expenditure or the provision for its external and internal security. These are matters as between ourselves and Iraq, with which the League does not concern itself, any more than it concerns itself with the expenditure or with the military measures taken by ourselves or by any other mandatory Power in other mandated territories. The conditions are those contained in our existing obligations to the League as covered by the present treaty and by the assurances given last year to the Council by our predecessors. They refer in the main to certain general principles of international law which are already in force, and which the Council wishes to secure that we should continue our co-operation and advice in maintaining a stable system of government in accordance with those principles.

involved in accepting the conditions of the League when it has the actual terms of the new treaty before it, and it can then judge whether it will or will not endorse the policy of the Government in respect of that treaty. I can say this, at any rate, that the conditions laid down by the League in no way commit us to spend money on or to keep troops in Iraq beyond the term of the present treaty expiring in 1928. The last sentences which I read of the statement of policy answer a hypothetical question that is the most in favour of the settlement in Iraq and I must insist that this is a purely hypothetical question. We have been engaged in completing a Treaty of Peace, and the role we have taken is the role of a peace negotiator, not of a victor, and our aim is permanent peace in the Middle East. Our one desire is that all the nations and States of that part of the world, not only the young Iraq nation, for which we hold a special responsibility, but also our former Turkish adversaries, should recover in peace from the ravages of the war, and under new conditions reach a higher level of prosperity than before.

We are only too anxious that Iraq should live in relations of neighbourly amity and co-operation with Turkey. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has already, at Geneva, expressed his personal desire for such relations and has also stated that he would like to see a friendly relationship between Iraq and Turkey as well as with the other countries of the Middle East. It is the policy of the Government to encourage such relations and to support any efforts which may be made to this end. The Secretary of State has also stated that he would like to see a friendly relationship between Iraq and Turkey as well as with the other countries of the Middle East. It is the policy of the Government to encourage such relations and to support any efforts which may be made to this end.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS (Mr. Amery). The speech to which we have just listened to, I think, typical of the calm tone in which this subject has been discussed this evening. It has been thoughtful and considerate, in some instances absolutely frigid and it would appear that this assembly has not been unmindful of its great imperial responsibilities. That tone is very different, indeed, from the tone in which this question has been discussed in certain quarters outside. The Prime Minister, in his statement, made it clear that we were not to be in a quarrel with the League of Nations was concerned and the conditions with which that award was coupled, it was only the attitude which every successive Government has taken up on this question since the matter of the Iraq frontier was first raised by the Turks three years ago.

My right hon. friend has asked me to set out the question of the position in Iraq. The answer that the present Government is pursuing is only the policy which every Government has pursued since the war.

It is not we who were first confronted with the problem, the grave, anxious problem of the responsibilities which we took in Iraq during the war. The pledges and assurances which were given at various stages of the war have been quoted in this House on more than one occasion. Some of them have been quoted to-night. I do not think it is necessary for me to quote them, and I shall sum them up in a phrase used by Lord Curzon at Lausanne in January 1923. Lord Curzon then said:—

The British Government are under a very definite pledge, first of all to Turkish rule, secondly that to the Arab kingdom shall be annexed the whole country, including Mosul, and with whom we have entered into an obligation, and thirdly, to the League of Nations, without whose consent we cannot abandon our mandate over large portions of mandated territory.

[illegible][illegible]

11. The British Government, in order to secure the independence of Iraq, and to substitute for it a system of the free constitution of the people of the country and the trusted members of their own Government, and with their own support and their own free constitution, we should support and help and guide them through the medium of a treaty of alliance. A treaty, from the point of view of Iraq, was that to which they were more susceptible, and in which they would take more pride, and at the same time, so far as our obligations to the League of Nations was concerned, would carry out all the essential elements of our mandatory obligation. There was the situation in 1921, in the coming of that treaty was signed between the British Government and the Government of Iraq.

before or since. We were confronted with a Turkey flushed with victory and a new state of affairs in Iraq. In face of that situation a new Prime Minister (Mr Bouar Law) asked his Cabinet to face the whole situation from the beginning. For months we discussed the problem asking ourselves whether it might be possible to solve it by abandoning our responsibilities in Iraq. We studied the problem. We came quite definitely to the conclusion that any immediate withdrawal from Iraq would not only be more costly but from a military point of view, more difficult to achieve, it would involve the downfall of the kingdom of Iraq, and consequently be regarded throughout the

Eastern world as a breach of faith towards Iraq, and that such a measure would inflict irreparable damage on British honour and prestige throughout the East. That was the view taken by the Government which approached this problem in a sceptical spirit, for it was only too anxious to get rid of obligations which they thought irksome.

But when they studied the problem they came to the same conclusion as their predecessors, namely, that it was not to be solved by any short cut, not by scuttling or running away, but by the result of a manful endeavour to build up as rapidly as possible in Iraq and by the help of the people of the country a condition of things which would enable Iraq to stand on its own feet, and by so doing enable us to discharge our obligations and to regard our responsibilities as fulfilled. In discussing that problem the Cabinet did consider very seriously how soon the financial and military commitments which we had undertaken in Iraq could honourably and safely be brought to an end. The treaty which had been signed was one of twenty years, and the military and financial agreement attached to it and extending to the same period did stipulate expressly that Iraq should, at the earliest possible date, be in a position to defend itself against external aggression. But on the other hand beyond that general situation no definite date within the twenty years' currency of the treaty had been laid down for the fulfilment of these essential conditions.

To remove the not unnatural apprehension which that created in the House of Commons at the time, the Cabinet came to the conclusion that the treaty whose ratification it considered could not honourably be withheld, should be supplemented by a protocol which terminated the main provisions of the treaty, and, more  
but which at the same time, as the Prime Minister made abundantly clear earlier to-day, expressly laid down that negotiations should be entered into for the conclusion of a future treaty embodying our permanent relations, when they should become  
on the part of Iraq on this country. That was the attitude taken up by the former Unionist Government.

But, as the Prime Minister pointed out this afternoon, that attitude was equally the attitude of the Labour Government that succeeded. When they had to face not only their obligations towards Iraq, but their obligations towards the League of Nations, they gave—I may mention that a right hon. member of this House on the Liberal side was one of the representatives of His Majesty's Government on that occasion, I mean the right hon. Member for the English Universities (Mr. H. Fisher)—he and Lord Parmoor together gave an assurance to the League of Nations that if Iraq had not entered the League by 1928 then the Government of this country would leave it to the League to decide what further measures might be required for carrying out a mandatory responsibility. In the face of that assurance given, not by a Government on this side but by a Government which for the moment does not grace the Labour benches opposite, it is really difficult to understand the meaning of the motion on the paper in the name of the right hon. gentleman who should be opposite—

"That in the opinion of this House the period for which this country assumed responsibility for Iraq should not be prolonged."

Why! Only a year ago they pledged themselves to the League of Nations that they would bring their record into conformity with the principles of that body, that they prefer to avoid having to explain the discrepancy between the motion they have put on the paper and the resolution which, by their own record, they are bound to support.

A question which my right hon. friend opposite has asked is, how is that policy of successive Governments actually working in Iraq? I had the privilege a few months ago, in company with my right hon. friend the Secretary for Air, to visit Iraq, in order that we might try to see for ourselves how that policy was working and how the progressive reduction of expenditure which that policy contemplated was being carried out, and how, if possible, it could be accelerated.

We found that that policy, laid down by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer and aimed at by successive Governments, is doing the work. We found that as regards the whole of the country, peace and order prevailed from one end of that country to the other, that the air force, with a small but keen and efficient police, with administration under

stood by the people, had established a state of affairs that that country had not known for a thousand years. I do not think that anyone who has been there could fail to be proud of the work which the air force has done in Iraq. I venture to say that that air force, for its keenness, for efficiency all round, for continuous flying experience, is a force the like of which does not exist in the world elsewhere. And that success has been achieved consistently with a continuous and rapid reduction of expenditure.

May I give the House a few figures to show how progressive the reduction has been. In the year 1920-21 we were spending £32 million a year in Iraq. In 1921-22 the figure was £23 million. In 1922-23, after the new policy had begun to take effect, the figure had been brought below £8 million; in the following year below £6 million; and in the year after that below £4,750,000. The current estimates are a little over £4 million. That is expenditure in Iraq. But it is not by any means all that we have spent there since 1920. We have also spent money on Malta to the imperial taxpayer. For the sake of effecting these reductions the present Chancellor of the Exchequer four years ago put all expenditure in Iraq upon the Middle Eastern Vote. Of the present expenditure of £4 million, about half is actual expenditure on Iraq, expenditure which need not recur once Iraq is capable of taking it upon its own shoulders, and the other £2 million represents expenditure upon that wonderful air weapon which is at this moment being maintained in that particular area.

I do not think that anyone will suggest that if it were not maintained there the whole of it would disappear or simply be incorporated in our home defence. A great part of it, at any rate, would be required somewhere in those regions, and I confess that I cannot see how it could be so used in such efficiency and in so central and effective a position. Be that as it may, the conviction with which the Secretary of State for Air and I came back from that visit was that, given a settlement to the frontier question, given security and a permanent policy, we should be able to make greater and progressive reductions during the next two years than could be made by the United Kingdom by settling on a rate very nearly within that time, at a stage when Iraq no longer required financial or military support and the imperial taxpayer, and when it could stand on its own feet and pay its own way.

That is the military position. I may add that Iraq is perhaps a little nearer to that, in its own way, than is usually realised. It pays the whole cost of the civil administration, pays for the whole of the force of 7,000 police and for a rapidly growing and improving army of 8,000 men, and within a very few years will be able to take over the whole of the ground expenditure now incurred in that country, and, I believe also, pay towards whatever air expenditure is required for the actual security of the country itself. I have given credit to the air force for what was done, at a lower rate. I think I have added that its ~~cost~~ <sup>cost</sup> must be deducted from the success of the political policy that has been followed under the guidance of men like Sir Percy Cox and Sir Henry Doidge, who understood the people of that country and were able to place the country and its people on the right British roads. We have built up a machinery for native self-government in that country which, I venture to say, we here, in this old country, can well be proud of.

Nothing, even in the early days of Egypt, in the time of Lord Cromer or Lord Milner, equals the fine, noble work that little body of British officials have done out there, with very little recognition, with no certainty of tenure for themselves, with a sense of duty towards the country in which they were working, and applied for the betterment of the people. They have worked in a spirit of brotherly co-operation with the native officials, and in the earlier days, in a spirit which has done marvels, not only in peace and security, but in health and sanitation, and education, and which has aimed at doing it, not by the supersession of the native administration, but by a true spirit of brotherly co-operation. Nothing more interested me than what I saw of the real whole-hearted friendship and co-operation between the Iraqi officials in the country and the British counsellors and advisers, who worked by their side, and never lost an opportunity of giving them full chance of doing the work.

We may be asked: Is that system of government stable? The commission set up by the League of Nations were inclined to doubt its permanency. I believe it has already made far more progress towards real stability than anyone here realises. It has the making of a true national life, patriotic, keen, and yet tolerant, in that



country, and you have there a people who are really anxious to make their way. I know that the financial position is still a difficulty. The burden of the Ottoman debt imposed upon Irak is not a small thing for a struggling little country to tackle, but I am convinced that Irak will not only pay its way during the next few years, but will steadily shoulder, as I have already said, the burdens that we are carrying for her.

There is one other economic point which I might mention in that connection, because it is alluded to so often by more than one hon. Member in a wholly misleading sense, and that is the part that the development of oil will play in the future prosperity of the country. I need not repeat that no interest of any sort directly concerned with oil has influenced the policy of the British Government, or of any British Government. That is undoubtedly true. If oil should be discovered in considerable quantities, it will undoubtedly bring development and revenue to the

Another thing we found when out there was that all development was waiting to know clearly what our intentions were. On every hand by the people of Iraq and our officials we were asked "Is it the intention of the Government to carry out the pledges given in the protocol, and after 1924 to remain in treaty alliance and in co-operation with Iraq or not?"

LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER KENWORTHY - Not by Turkey, but by the Sultan

administration which in a few years have made it an utterly different country either from what Irak was before the war or from what any part of the Turkish country is to-day

There is no case, either, to be founded on the wishes of the inhabitants, the last thing the people of Iraq wish is to be put back under Turkish rule. More than that, there is no legal claim for the restoration to Turkey. I want to dwell on that point, because the commission of the League pointed out, in what I cannot conceive to be the original sovereignty of Turkey, in some sense still subsisted over all the regions that had belonged to her. The Hague Court, a legal authority which I think no one in this House will query, put the thing more correctly when it said that under article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne Turkey had renounced all rights and the frontiers laid down in the treaty, and that, in respect of the Iraq frontier, pending the actual fixing of the frontier, that renunciation was still, in a certain measure, in suspense.

I think I have made it clear that the claim on the part of Turkey to reverse the system of the war and the system established since the war has no justification, but, however little justified it might have been, I can assure this House that the Government of this country, with its many responsibilities, would not have been afraid of negotiating or offering a compromise with regard to that claim if we thought it would improve the relations between the two countries. But the facts are such that any concession to an unjustified claim would be impossible. The present frontier is the one easily defensible frontier in the country and any frontier drawn back from the present one would be an undefensible one and one which would involve Iraq and us in much heavier military expenditure. At the same time, to go back would deprive Iraq of some of its richest territory and best roads, and would leave that country crippled in her resources with a much heavier task before her. Therefore, any retreat from the present frontier is one that, so far from lightening the burdens of the taxpayers, would increase them, and would defer for many years a period which we hope will soon come when Iraq will stand on its own. It would mean more than that





No. 110.

believe that what we are concerned with in this matter, and that is what the League of Nations is concerned with, is not the problem of defence against some hypothetical attack, but the problem of a territory in which it takes specific mandatory interest wishes to see preserved in any territory in which it takes specific mandatory interest.

The questions with which the League is concerned—and I shall deal with that matter more fully when the actual treaty comes before the House—are such questions as the continued enforcement of the organic law, prescribing the constitutional system of government, guaranteeing freedom of conscience, freedom of worship and reasonable safeguards for the interests of foreigners and a number of things of that sort which are of great importance from the point of view of the League. Nearly all the questions which I have mentioned are questions of the kind which British officials and for which neither great expenditure of money nor the presence of armed forces is required.

I will only say two things more. The Government have been charged and I have been charged in particular in this matter with taking up an uncompromising and uncompromising attitude. I think the House will realise after the explanation I have given that as long as Turkey claimed a great province which we believe belongs of right to Iraq there was no common ground on which compromise could start. It was only when the question of right and principle was settled that we got a datum line from which we could start and from which we could enter upon friendly discussion. I do not think anyone can suggest that either the Foreign Secretary or the Prime Minister lost a moment in showing their readiness, from the starting point, to enter upon friendly discussion for any adjustment or arrangement, whether territorial, financial, economic or political which would make the present settlement any easier for them and which would base it upon mutual agreement and a mutual willingness to operation.

I have endeavoured to summarise—I know at somewhat great length—the whole of our policy in Iraq. It is a policy of honouring our obligations, facing our responsibilities, and of endeavouring at the same time by practical measures to build up a state of affairs in that country which will be a credit to the League. Our expenditure in Iraq has been enormously reduced, and will be rapidly reduced in the next few years. Economic development is proceeding, and it may be something much greater than anyone has realised.

There is also the great political fact. Surely it is no small thing that we have created in that country a system of government progressive, and yet essentially conservative; a system of government which is national, and yet tolerant of minorities and which appreciates the help and support we have rendered. I believe it is a wonderful experiment on which we have started in that Near Eastern part of the world. I believe a strong and prosperous Iraq, with a healthy, independent national life of its own but closely associated in voluntary and even affectionate union with the British Empire, is the best thing that could happen to the Near Eastern part of the world. But, believe me, a great problem like this cannot be solved by running away from it. It must be faced with patience, and faced with courage. Stumbling steps and wavering men will never lead us to our goal, nor is it always very prudent to turn back at the roar of every lion in the path, and after all, some of these lions are very much like the lions which affrighted Christian at the entrance of the Palace Beautiful—chained, chained to the columns of their own newspapers, and chained to the columns of their own newspapers. There are other dangers, that may be more real, but with regard to these I do not believe that a lasting peace can ever be won by surrendering to menaces the just rights of those who trust you. I believe, on the contrary, that in this matter, from first to last, the present Government and every preceding Government have given evidence both of their whole-hearted and sincere desire for peace and of their determination to honour their obligations. We shall, I firmly believe, find our way out of our present difficulties, create a permanent and lasting peace in the Near East, and in doing so we shall be rewarded for having through and fulfilling a task which has, I know, been anxious and difficult, but which is, I believe, a great task, worthy of a great Empire.

Sir W. Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to Sir R. Lindsay (Constantinople)

(No 152)

(Telegraphic.) R.

Foreign Office, December 22, 1925.

YOUR telegram No. 146 of 20th December.

The Prime Minister asked the Turkish Ambassador to call this afternoon, and renewed to him the statement made to his Excellency on the 4th instant by Sir Austen Chamberlain, and recorded in his telegram No. 142 of the 5th instant, to the effect that in the event of the decision of the League being in our favour he would be ready, should the Turkish Government so desire, to enter into conversations to ascertain whether any accommodations were possible to render more acceptable to them a solution which disappointed their hopes.

The Prime Minister then proceeded to hand to the Ambassador the declaration made on the 16th December by Sir Austen Chamberlain, on behalf of His Majesty's Government (see telegram No. 441 of 17th December from Geneva repeated direct to you).

The Prime Minister added that he would be grateful to his Excellency if he would communicate this statement to his Government and ascertain whether they would be prepared to enter upon a friendly exchange of views to achieve this end. In the event of a favourable reply from the Turkish Government, he would immediately instruct you to proceed to Angora in order to get into touch with the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

His Excellency replied that he would lose no time in transmitting the Prime Minister's message to his Government, and promised to use his utmost endeavour to obtain a favourable reply, as he considered it the duty of an Ambassador to promote the best relations between his country and the Government to which he was

attached.

26  
CHAPTER II.—ARABIA.

No 111

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain to Mr. Bullard (Jeddah)*

(No. 48)

(Telegraphic)

*Foreign Office, July 1, 1925*

It appears that presence of H M S "Cornflower" at Rabigh during landing of pilgrims sufficed to prevent any interference by Hedjaz blockading craft. Do you recommend that she should revisit Rabigh during period when pilgrims are being re-embarked? If so, what are probable dates?

No 112

*Mr. Bullard to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 2)*

(No. 110)

(Telegraphic) R

*Jeddah, July 1, 1925*

YOUR telegram No. 48 reached me at the same time as Ibn Saud's reply dated 15th June. He says he has issued orders to stop forces sent against Akaba and he should do about railway, which he had ordered to be cut.

I presume reply should be His Majesty's Government are not concerned with railway south of Maan Vilayet.

He says he is eager for final settlement of question with Iraq and Transjordan, but is unable to send representative, he would, however, be delighted to receive representative "for a conference about the two questions, and a final settlement in my presence."

(Sent to Bagdad, Bushire and Jerusalem)

No 113

*Mr. Bullard to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 2)*

(No. 111)

(Telegraphic)

*Jeddah, July 1, 1925*

MY immediately preceding telegram.

As it is becoming more and more probable that Ali will have to go soon and that we shall have Ibn Saud here, I suggest in regard to conference we should say that His Majesty's Government are considering question of sending representatives to him.

There will be opportunity for despatch of letter to him about 4th July

No 114

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain to Mr. Bullard (Jeddah)*

(No. 49)

(Telegraphic) R

*Foreign Office, July 4, 1925*

YOUR telegram No. 108 and 109 of 20th June. Situation at Jeddah.

You should inform Ali verbally in reply to his appeal that, while His Majesty's Government would be most happy if they could contribute in any way to preventing further bloodshed and suffering, they can only contemplate the possibility of intervention if both sides are ready to welcome their good offices. They are however taking steps to ascertain from Ibn Saud whether he would do so. This is the utmost that they can do at the present juncture, and you should warn Ali against entering any further appeal.

You should make no reference to appeal contained in your telegram No. 106 of 27th June unless pressed in detail. It is not likely that the Hashimite Government will avoid any unnecessary publicity in the matter.

(Repeated to Bushire, No. 8, Bagdad, No. 11, and Jerusalem, No. 8)

27

No. 115

*Mr. Bullard to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 6.)*

(No. 115)

(Telegraphic)

*Jeddah, July 5, 1925*

YOUR telegram No. 48

Ali has agreed to open Jeddah to returning pilgrims, and I can now communicate welcome intervention should be made before I make a communication to Ali. Latter is so irresponsible that I fear that he would not only consider war as good as won, but would inform everyone that His Majesty's Government had intervened.

No. 116

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain to Mr. Bullard (Jeddah)*

(No. 51)

(Telegraphic) R

*Foreign Office, July 10, 1925*

You should inform Ibn Saud that His Majesty's Government have learned with gratification of his recall of the force directed against Akaba, and are sure he will prolonging the war by their intrigues, since the first is now established in British territory at Cyprus and the other is in the British mandated territory of Transjordan.

As regards railway south of area notified to him as that for which His Majesty's Government regarded themselves as responsible, you should say that it is no concern of His Majesty's Government, who only desire to see hostilities terminated as soon as possible.

Government should use their good offices in ending the conflict. You should add that if this were acceptable to him (Ibn Saud), His Majesty's Government would be prepared to lend their good offices to both sides in the common interest of peace but until they know whether he would welcome the proposal they will of course not attempt to proceed with it.

You should say that, however this may be, His Majesty's Government are ready at once to depute an officer to discuss with him the outstanding questions between Nejd and territories under British mandate that they welcome his assurance that he would be delighted to receive a representative for this purpose in order to arrive at a final settlement in his presence, and that His Majesty's Government would be glad to know what time and place would be convenient to him. He will no doubt realise that it is impracticable for them to send a representative to Mecca itself or to any other place which is regarded as holy by the Moslem world.

(Repeated to Bushire, No. 8, Bagdad, No. 13, and Jerusalem, No. 8)

No 117

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain to Mr. Bullard (Jeddah)*

(No. 52)

(Telegraphic) R

*Foreign Office, July 11, 1925*

YOUR telegram No. 116 of 8th July: Proposal of King Ali to send a new Hashimite representative to London.

You should reply as courteously as possible that His Majesty's Government are not prepared in present circumstances to receive a Hashimite representative in London either officially or unofficially, but that any communications which King Ali may wish to make to them through you will continue to receive all due attention as in the past.



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No. 118.

Consul Bullard to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received July 15)

(No. 58. Secret.)

Sir,

Jeddah June 30, 1925

I HAVE the honour to enclose a report on the situation covering the period the 30th May to the 30th June, 1925

From Khartoum (through Port Sudan), Jerusalem, Bagdad, Beirut (for Damascus), Aden, Singapore, Bushire, Koweit, Bahrein and Muscat

I have, &amp;c

R W BULLARD

Enclosure 1 in No. 118.

Report for the Period May 30—June 30, 1925

THE Hedjaz Nejd war cannot last much longer. A more decided character than Ali might have given in before, but Ali lacks the resolution even to run away. Hitherto he has been able to live in the hope that things would take a turn in his favour. These events are —

- (a) The cessation of Ma'an and Akaba, which not only stops the supply of munitions from Medina, but must also dispose the people and garrison of Medina to treat with Ibn Saud
- (b) The departure of Hussein for Cyprus, where he can have no direct hand in affairs, which makes it probable that no more money will come from him
- (c) The arrival of several thousand pilgrims at Mecca by various routes, in spite of the closing of the Jeddah route and the "blockade"
- (d) The final refusal of a considerable body of Palestinian troops to work any longer without pay.
- (e) The superiority shown by the Wahabis in warfare in the open during the

army had left but has roused Ali from his dream, in which the reconquest of Mecca seemed hardly more difficult—if only he had a little more money or a few more rifles and cartridges—than holding Jeddah against an enemy who had long ceased to attack

he was despatching a force against Akaba, as he was convinced that the main cause of the prolongation of the war was the residence of the ex King Hussein at Akaba and his work there in furnishing the Hedjaz Government with men, arms, supplies and money. On receipt of this information His Majesty's Government decided that the long outstanding project to absorb Ma'an and Akaba in Transjordan should now be carried out and that Hussein should be invited to leave Akaba. This agency was instructed to convey news of this decision to Ibn Saud, together with a reminder that Akaba lies within territory already indicated to Ibn Saud as that for which His Majesty's Government are responsible. Communication with Ibn Saud, except for letters on uncontroversial matters which can be sent through the Hedjaz Government, is very difficult, but there is evidence that the letter from this agency reached Ibn Saud as the Umm al Kura of the 20th June contains the report of an interview in which Ibn Saud is represented as saying, while refusing to give the [sic] would no longer send assistance to the Hedjaz, whether in men or money or arms, and that he had therefore issued orders to the force he had sent against Akaba to halt

9 The news of the decision of His Majesty's Government caused some excitement and depression in the small circle here that takes an active part in the war. The Syrian leaders of the army desired to resist the British occupation of Ma'an and Akaba to the death, or, alternatively, to make a demonstration outside the British Agency in Jeddah. They were, however, calmed by the King, who submitted to the inevitable, after an unacceptable suggestion that the disputed territory should remain

under the Hedjaz until the end of the war, when it should revert to Transjordan. Chaniyal, Ma'an and Akaba are a burden to the Hedjaz, but they are important as a link in the only way of communication with Medina when the tribes in the holy quadrilateral are up or when, as at present, the ordinary routes are unsafe from some other cause. It is probable that without Ma'an and Akaba the Hedjaz would have been beaten long ago. It is by that route that they have received several guns and large supplies of ammunition from Medina and that Hussein has sent money to the Medina garrison, and it was at Ma'an that the Palestinians and Transjordanians were recruited who saved the situation when Ali was on the point of giving up the

must soon fall to the Wahabis, and he is probably right

4 One curious result of the Ma'an Akaba controversy is a belief, widespread in Jeddah, and apparently shared by the Hedjaz authorities, that England may now be in a position to force the Amir Abdullah suggestions for British intervention, and he has asked me why His Majesty's Government, while they are dealing with the northern boundary, cannot also take up the question of the eastern boundary of the Hedjaz, all that is wanted is a resumption of the Koweit Conference

5 King Hussein eventually accepted the invitation to go to Cyprus, and H.M.S. "Delhi" left Akaba with a cargo which, if report is to be believed, resembled those of all Masehida ships—quinquereme, trader and galleon—rolled into one. The three weeks' grace granted him was a time of some anxiety here as it was

be glad that his father is out of the way, but as the money is also now out of the way his joy is not unmixed. He would like his father's money without his father, of course, but he would certainly rather have both than be deprived of Hussein's financial help

6 Government adopted a policy which brought them the maximum of odium and the minimum of advantage. On the 30th May it became known that the two smallest Hedjaz steamers had left for Rabigh with troops, machine guns and a gun or two on board. The Foreign Secretary, when reminded by me that His Majesty's Government did not recognise the Hedjaz blockade, said that they merely proposed to sink any Hedjaz dhows they found and to engage from the sea any Wahabis who might appear. On the 1st June, however, the foreign representatives in Jeddah, received from the Foreign Secretary a circular worded as follows —

"I have the honour to inform you that the Hedjaz military authorities, on

instruction of an effective blockade of Rabigh, ordered the steamer 'Tawil' to perform that duty and to remain there and some armed dhows with her, and given twelve days' notice with effect from the date of this letter, after the expiry of which everything coming to Rabigh will be dealt with in accordance with the law of blockade

Moreover, please note that Rabigh is a theatre of war, that it is to-day being bombarded from the sea and that land operations against it are being begun."

From this it seemed that if British pilgrims were to be landed safely it would be necessary to refuse to recognise the new blockade, since only the first ship could reach Rabigh before the expiry of the notice, and to procure from Aden or elsewhere dhows which would be protected by our flag from interference by Hedjaz vessels. In the event all turned out well because when it came to the pinch the Hedjaz Government boggled at applying the blockade to British ships, and because the formation of Rabigh harbour—unique, it seems, on the whole Hedjaz coast—prevented the Hedjaz Government from carrying out their intention to destroy or capture any Hedjaz dhow putting off from the shore to disembark pilgrims.

7 The first pilgrim ship, the "Jehangir," reached Port Sudan on the 5th June. The agency doctor and Indian clerk were waiting there having been unable to get a

ght be expected to arrive. A long tussle then ensued between the determination of the pilgrims not to be balked of their pilgrimage and the natural desire of the captain and owners not to have their ship seized and condemned for trying to run the blockade. On the 17th June, although authentic news of the exact situation at Rabigh had still not been received, the captain left Port Sudan for Rabigh. At about this time H.M.S. "Cornflower," acting on instructions issued by His Majesty's

[14003]

Government at the request of the Government of India, called at Rabigh to examine the conditions there. The commanding officer called on the captain of the "Tawil" to find out what his instructions were, and found that whatever they were they did not include the duty of stopping British pilgrim ships from entering the harbour. He also found that once inside the harbour pilgrim ships could not be followed by the "Tawil," since the entrance is so narrow that it could easily be guarded against the "Tawil" by Wahabis armed only with rifles—for which reason, doubtless, and also because there was one Wahabi gun somewhere on shore, the "Tawil" was keeping well away from the entrance. Finally, he found that there were four

approach much nearer to the shore than at Jeddah, and that the Wahabis had made of H.M.S. "Cornflower" the fear was dissipated that the "Tawil" could do at Rabigh what she could do at Jeddah, and, I believe, at any other point on the Hedjaz coast, viz., lie between the much larger pilgrim ships and the shore and capture or scare off by machine-gun fire any Hedjaz dhows putting off from the shore to land pilgrims. It was therefore possible for Commander Wickham, after discussion at Jeddah, to send reassuring messages to the "Jehangir" and the "Gorjistan," the two first pilgrim ships. Moreover, the "Cornflower" went back to Rabigh and stood by until the last of the three ships, the "Akbar," had landed its pilgrims. This was completed on the 23rd June.

8. The land operations threatened by the Hedjaz Government in their letter of the 1st June, though not entirely bluff, did not threaten Rabigh seriously. The Hedjaz forces at Yambo—mainly tribal—did, however, succeed in capturing Badr, halfway between Yambo and Rabigh and astride one of the routes to Medina, and the King was hoping as late as the 26th June that they would take Rabigh before the stores landed from the pilgrim ships had been removed to Mecca.

9. It is difficult to understand the Hedjaz Government's policy in regard to Rabigh. I am inclined to think that they were too vague as to what a blockade really means to be able to act with consistency and firmness. The Foreign Secretary was always trying to get from me a definition of what His Majesty's Government would consider an "effective" blockade, so that he might act on it. On about the 17th June, the Government were seriously discussing whether, now that the

should not allow them to go to Mecca via Jeddah, but the Syrian military party, who eventually carried the day, were against it and voted for the full rigours of the blockade. The result was that the Hedjaz Government were told to this agency saying that the landing of goods at Rabigh would be prevented by all possible means and that every [Hedjaz] boat or dhow appearing in harbour would be fired on. Yet when the blockade was actually enforced, the only thing done to them. However, the Hedjaz Government now console themselves by saying that His Majesty's Government forced the blockade by sending a warship against which they were of course powerless. The King was particularly reproachful about the large quantity of stores which he said had been landed from the pilgrim ships.

10. At the beginning of the Hajj, a number of British pilgrims who had desisted to Jeddah by various routes, e.g., Nigerians who arrived last year just too late for the Hajj, a few Malays who had come months before via Rangoon and India, &c. Some of these managed to get away in dhows, which, under an arrangement winked at by the authorities immediately concerned, landed them a few miles further down the coast, but there were still left those who could not. A month by the arrival from Akaba and Yambo on Hedjaz Government steamers, of Indian and other pilgrims who had travelled by way of Palestine. At the request of this agency the King agreed, almost at the last moment, to let them pass through the lines, and they left on the 26th June, still in time for the pilgrimage. The King

"Jehangir." If that had been his reason he might have let them go earlier in the month. The real reason was, I think, that he feels he is beaten and wants to get what little credit he can before it is too late. For the same reason he is considering seriously whether he should not allow all returning pilgrims to embark at Jeddah.

11. On the 21st June a letter, a translation of which is attached (Enclosure 2), was received by the foreign representatives from Ibn Saud, saying that he was changing the position of his troops, but by no means abandoning the siege of Jeddah.

That night the neighbouring villages which had been occupied by the Wahabis for

g them abandoned, occupied them as the first step in the march to Granada via Jeddah and Damascus. The spirits of the troops were a little damped to find that Wahabi trenches were so large and so well covered with timber and sandbags that the Hedjaz bombardments which make so much noise in Jeddah can have done them no harm whatsoever, and the discovery that there were still Wahabis among the hills completed the feeling of disappointment. A party of cavalry which approached the point where the Mecca road enters the hills was attacked and fled with about ten casualties, and on the 24th a body of Yemenis in the Hedjaz army were nearly surrounded and lost not less than fifty killed and missing.

It is supposed that Ibn Saud wants to be able to send as many of his men as possible on the Hajj, and that he is, therefore, withdrawing to some place on the coast. There is no reason to believe that when the pilgrimage is over he will concentrate on the capture of Medina and Yambo.

12. On instructions from His Majesty's Government a message was given to Ali that, while a Government does not ordinarily protect any of its nationals who enlist in a foreign army, His Majesty's Government consider that every soldier in the Hedjaz army who is a native of Palestine or Transjordan is entitled to the full terms on which he enlisted and is entitled to leave the Hedjaz if he wishes to do so unless there is a written agreement binding him for a fixed term. Ali said that according to his information, the men were bound by some sort of written agreement, it was in Ma'an and would be sent for, but he did not venture to promise that their arrears of pay would be given them. The question dragged on until the arrival of the fourth barren pay day, when the men finally refused to serve any longer. On the 28th June thirty came to the agency with their rifles, the next day forty, and the King was so scared that he gave me his word that as soon as a steamer was available, in eight or ten days, he would send them to Akaba and thence to Ma'an. He still, however, postponed a decision on the general question, until a demonstration at the barracks, in which many shots were fired (about only into the air), and the rapid march of the Palestinians that within about three weeks they should all be sent away.

13. The Director-General of Customs, who recently returned from a holiday in the Hedjaz, reported that a number of Somali recruits for the army, who applied to this agency for assistance, saying that they were British subjects who had been induced to come to Jeddah under promise of being given well-paid work on ships in workshops, and so on, but were now asked to serve in the army—and at £2 a month or less. Few of the men had papers, but there was little doubt that they were from British Somaliland. The recruitment of men from mandated territories has given trouble enough, but for that there are extenuating circumstances; but the enlistment of British subjects from Musawwa' to Jeddah for military service could not be permitted, and this agency requested that the men should be provided with

possible that some, if not all, of the party did agree before leaving to serve in the Hedjaz army, and changed their minds only when they found that, though fighting was real the pay was imaginary—but the fact that they applied for help soon after landing is in their favour. Anyhow, the Hedjaz Government did not attempt to defend the action of the Director-General of Customs, and they provided a dhow to take those of the Somalis who wished to leave—forty three in number—to Musawwa', or, if the Italian authorities should not allow them to land there, to

the fact that they applied for help soon after landing is in their favour. Anyhow, the Hedjaz Government did not attempt to defend the action of the Director-General of Customs, and they provided a dhow to take those of the Somalis who wished to leave—forty three in number—to Musawwa', or, if the Italian authorities should not allow them to land there, to



The treaty is said to have been signed at Jeddah by representatives of the Imam. But no news of this has been heard except through the Foreign Secretary, who seems to have spoken about it to no one but the Egyptian consul. I may add that the Egyptian consul, who is not very intelligent, is allowing himself to be used, consciously or unconsciously, for Hedjaz Government propaganda.

15. Ali's financial position becomes worse and worse. Not only have the troops and the officials been four months without pay, but there is no longer even a vague hope of receiving any considerable sum from outside. Lutfullah's promises are seen to have been empty, and the King will consider himself fortunate if Hussein sends enough money to enable him, by giving the troops a small present at the pilgrimage feast, the 1st July, to stave off serious trouble in the army.

Two or three months ago I was informed by a usually reliable person that Ali had received £10,000 or so from his brother Feisal. I was not inclined to believe this, as Feisal has a fixed civil list and all Hashimites seem to be extravagant, but that is not the point. The point is that the proceeds of a loan of a lakh and a half of rupees, secured on the funds of the Nubhawiyah Wakfs in Irak, had been hurried off to Jeddah by the Council of Ministers. It is stated that the funds of these wakfs are intended mainly for the poor of Medina, but the money has doubtless been used for general purposes. As, however, in ordinary times most of it would be stolen by the Sheriffs of Mecca this perhaps does not matter much.

16. It was recorded in the last report that the Russian and Persian representatives had contradicted the statement made in the "Umm-al-Kura," that, on their way to Mecca, they spoke to Ibn Saud—privately—about peace. They wrote to Ibn Saud an identical letter referring to the "fabricated" report and asking him to correct it in the next issue of the "Umm-al-Kura," as otherwise they would be compelled to issue an official contradiction. The letters would be considered unfortunately worded even if the addressee had been a person of no importance and the writers had been speaking the truth; as it is, the wording is most insolent. But they got no good by their denials. The "Umm-al-Kura" printed the letters and I could not have believed that the representatives of Governments would say a thing and then deny it. There was, as it happens, no harm in what you said and you did not ask that it should be kept secret. You said that your motive was love for Islam and the East. I will not take back one word. The proof of the accuracy of the report is in Sheikh Fuad's reference in his letter to messages from certain persons. I have heard several times that it was Khakimov and Lari who acted as go-betweens for him, and Lari does not maintain his denial in private. Khakimov, however, is said to be facing it out.

The same number of the "Umm-al-Kura" prints an interview with the Senussi, in which he is reported as saying that M. Khakimov and the acting Persian consul secured separate personal interviews with him and made use of them to raise the question of peace, only to receive the obvious reply that the Senussi has nothing to do with politics. In addition, Khakimov is also stated to have asked the Senussi why he came to Mecca by land instead of via Jeddah, and Ahmad Lari to have wanted to know whether the Senussi's journey was spontaneous or instigated by the Turks.

This is worth reporting rather fully, because it shows what very clumsy diplomats Khakimov and his Persian pupil are and what Ibn Saud thinks of them. If Jeddah falls into Ibn Saud's hands, it will be difficult for Khakimov to remain here.

17. Two members of the Soviet agency staff, the second secretary and the first secretary, were reported to have been refused visas by the Egyptian Government. The Egyptian Government would give them an ordinary transit visa, but that, if they wanted a diplomatic visa, he must consult his Government. As they were carrying three months' despatches (dealing, no doubt, with such interesting matters as Khakimov's unsuccessful attempt to get Ibn Saud to send troops against Hussein), an ordinary transit visa was no good to them, so they went to Musawwa', whence they would get a steamer for Italy.

The Egyptian consul has since been instructed by his Government not to grant any member of the Soviet agency a visa for Egypt, not even a transit visa.

R W BILLARD

P S - Ali has just sent me a telegram, to be despatched to London, asking for the intervention of His Majesty's Government. He knows quite well the principle laid down by His Majesty's Government, that only on application from both parties could they intervene, and he also knows the imperative reasons for the adoption of that principle, but, like his father, he has no sense of reality whatsoever.

R W B

#### Enclosure 2 in No. 118

*Translation of a Letter from Ibn Saud to the Foreign Representatives in Jeddah, dated 28th Dhul Ka'dah, 1343 (June 20, 1925).*

(After compliments)

ALTHOUGH I am aware that your Governments have declared their complete neutrality in regard to the war in progress between Nejd and the Hedjaz, I think it necessary to give you an explanation about our military position and our plans for the future, in the first place, because those explanations relate to the political situation of the country in which you are interested—especially at this time when visitors who are nationals of some of your Governments are coming by various routes to perform the pilgrimage, and, secondly, in order to crush lies and rumours which might be spread by evilly-disposed persons whose desire it is to besmirch our reputation and to decay the public security reigning throughout the land, whereby pilgrims might be influenced and our brave army degraded.

I have to inform you that I have decided, with the help of God, to adopt a stronger and quicker plan both for the siege of Jeddah and for the capture of other places. For military reasons it has been decided to change the present position of the army and to dispose it according to a new arrangement and plans drawn up for the purpose, the troops will be transferred to more suitable and more effective positions.

It is not to be understood from this that the transfer involves the raising of the siege of Jeddah, on the contrary, it will remain, we trust, under even stricter siege than before.

As to the question of pilgrims and public security in Mecca and on the roads leading to it from the ports of Itabigh, Lith and Kufudah, I have to inform you, in order to forestall any attempt to make trouble which (may be made and of which news) may reach your office, that the most minute precautions are being taken for the safety of the pilgrims, and that every effort is being made to ensure their comfort and tranquillity both for their journey (to Mecca) and for their return.

(Seal of Ibn Saud)

#### Enclosure 3 in No. 118.

*Translation of an alleged Treaty between the Hedjaz and the Yemen, signed at Jeddah about June 1925.*

#### ARTICLE 1.

THE contracting parties admit that the Arab countries from one extremity to the other are an indivisible Moslem whole, according to the known rules in the Moslem Shar' Law. This necessitates their renewing their admission of Shar' rights to the noble rulers who bear rule in them and enjoy their hereditary independence within the boundaries which are already fixed or about the delimitation of which an agreement may be arrived at in future. Any dispute about them shall be settled by friendly means adopted in common. They undertake also to support each other in the attainment of the aim of strengthening the bond of brotherhood and the relations of friendship.

#### ARTICLE 2

There shall be lasting peace and friendship between the contracting parties.

The contracting parties shall not allow the power which the laws in force permit to prevent their respective countries from being made a base for any movement directed against the present or future interests of the other. They agree that neither will enter into any treaty or agreement or understanding

with any State whatsoever, having for its object to harm the other or to trample on any right of the other, whether administrative or political or personal

### ARTICLE 3

In case of a dispute between one of these contracting countries and the other or a number of them—resulting in a breach of friendly relations, the two said Governments before resorting to force, shall act with patience until the other acting Governments have time to prevent the calamity by fraternal mediation, and the two said Governments shall accept the decision of the majority in the matter. If both or either of them persist in wrongdoing, the majority shall act according to His mighty word

"If two parties of the believers fight, make peace between them, and if one of them acts wrongfully towards the other, make war on the wrongdoer until he obeys the command of Allah

### ARTICLE 4

Since the Hedjaz is a meeting place for Muslims who visit it for the performance of a religious duty, the contracting parties agree to exchange official representatives (one from each country to represent the interests of the pilgrims and those subjects of theirs who have been induced to come by a religious motive) and their general interests

### ARTICLE 5

Without prejudice to the general and particular rights which each of the signatories of this official treaty has in the government of the territories under its jurisdiction, the contracting parties agree to exchange official representatives (one from each country to represent the interests of the pilgrims and those subjects of theirs who have been induced to come by a religious motive) and their general interests

which is under the Government of the other party, and if either of them does so, it is null and void

### ARTICLE 6

Muslim has the right (sic) to help (another) Muslim in repulsing harm and enmity the contracting parties agree to exchange material help for the purpose of defence to the utmost of their power, whether in money or in men or in arms or in war material, only the applicant (for help) shall undertake to repay the money or to pay the value of the material and arms later if his necessity allows of it, and shall guarantee rations and other necessities to the troops supplied to him

### ARTICLE 7

The nationals of each of the parties shall have the right to reside and to exchange freely in all parts of the country on an equal footing with the natives of the country in all matters touching taxation and commerce and navigation and the practice of trades and professions

Each of the parties shall do his utmost to remove economic hindrances and to encourage commerce and to facilitate imports and exports

If a dispute occurs between those nationals and the natives of one of the said countries it shall be referred to the courts of that country for hearing in accordance with the inspiration of the Shar' and justice, and the judgment of that court shall be valid

### ARTICLE 8

If any Arab Amir in the Arab countries desires to join this Arab alliance and to come under the articles of this treaty it shall be accepted of him, and he shall be regarded as a signatory: only this shall not be completed until after examination and acceptance by the two signatories

### ARTICLE 9

The signatories agree that if either party comes to know either directly or indirectly of any secret or open movement harmful to the other, he shall have the right (sic) to reveal it at once and to assist him to repel it to the utmost of his power and strength

There shall be a league composed of their delegates and called "The League of the Arab Countries" to consider matters relating to the good and prosperity of the peninsula and likely to strengthen the bond of mutual acquaintance and brotherhood. This league, however, shall have no right of sovereignty or compulsion

The league shall meet before or after the pilgrimage, according to the desire of the signatories

### ARTICLE 10

This treaty shall be considered binding and in operation from the date of signature. It shall be in operation for twenty years from the date of its coming into force. If either party desires to denounce the treaty or to modify it, it shall remain in force for six months from the day on which one of the signatories shall have sent the said notice (sic)

This treaty has been written in Arabic in duplicate. Each of the signatories shall keep one copy

E 4127 10 91)

No. 119

Mr. Bullard to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 1.)

(No. 50.)

Sir,

Jeddah, June 30, 1925.

IN continuation of my telegram No. 109 of the 29th June, I have the honour to enclose herewith a translation of a letter from His Majesty King Ali dated the 8th Dhul Hijjah, 1343.

I have, &c.

R. W. BULLARD

Enclosure in No. 119.

Translation of a letter from Ali, King of the Hedjaz, dated (Dhul Hijjah 8, 1343) (June 29, 1925), to the British Agent at Jeddah,

(After respects.)

I BEG you to send the following to His Majesty's Government by telegraph. If there is no objection it will be sent at the expense of the Hedjaz Government—

"I am confident that His Majesty's Government, who bore the greatest part in securing the independence of the Hedjaz and in helping it, will not consent to see it remain in the present critical situation, aggravated, as that situation is, by exceptional circumstances.

"The course of this war, which has necessitated the raising of the question of Ma'an and Akaba at the most critical moment, and the financial situation, which has led to the demobilisation of certain Palestinian volunteers, obliges me to appeal to their sympathy, trusting to their well-known policy of friendship which cannot, I am sure, be broken. However, it is well known that the present war is not religious, as was alleged, but in reality political and personal.

"I feel the need of that ancient kindness which I used to find in His Majesty's Government, both towards me personally and towards my country. His Majesty's Government have always been my friends in the past and in the present.

"I accepted this heavy duty only, as is well known under pressure from my people—that armed people which deserves the compassion of all the Allies and especially of His Majesty's Government. If I had not been certain of the barbarity of the Bedouin fighting against them and of the atrocities to which the chain of



inful events from their entry into Ts'it until to-day bears witness, I should have been in a different position, but my honour and their trust in me forbid me to expose them to anything of that kind.

"Inspired by the sincere desire to put an end to bloodshed and to alleviate the miseries of the two Arab parties in the Hedjaz and Nejd, I entreat His Majesty's Government to ward off the calamities in such manner as they consider most effective and of the most speedy service to them both and to humanity.

"I should be glad to learn their views on this request, which I cannot think will remain fruitless. I await their honoured reply."

Thanking you in advance, I am, &c.

A.L.J

E 4128 10/91}

No. 120.

*Mr Bullard to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 15.)*

No. 60)

Sir,

Jeddah, June 30, 1925.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a translation of a letter from Ibn Saud, dated the 16th June, 1925. It will be noticed that the letter did not reach me until the 30th June.

2 Copies of this despatch and of its enclosure are being sent to Bushire, Jerusalem and Bagdad.

I have, &c.

R. W. BULLARD.

Enclosure in No. 120

*Translation of a Letter from Ibn Saud to Mr Bullard, Jeddah, dated 24th Dhu'l Kadh, 1345 (June 16, 1925).—(Received in Jeddah, June 30, 1925.)*

(After receipt.)

I HAVE to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 29th May, 1925 which reached me on 10th Dhu'l Kadh, 1345 (June 11, 1925). I have noted its contents.

Respecting as I do the interests of His Majesty's Government, and being bound to her by the strongest bonds of friendship and sincerity, I have given due consideration to the points contained therein. I immediately issued orders to certain detachments of our troops which had left here for Akaba, and similarly I hastened to send messengers to the headquarters of Hail to stop the forces which had marched or might be about to march against the said place. I trust that my orders will reach the leader of the expedition before he takes any action.

Here I must invite your careful attention to a matter of capital importance, viz., the intrigues of Hussein and of his son Abdullah in Amman, which have prolonged the war and caused us many troubles. I do not think they will come to an end unless His Majesty's Government keep a close watch from afar upon these two persons and prevent

the furtherance of their designs. We know the extent to which the military situation has been influenced by help they have given in money and men, and by their use of Akaba as a base for their military operations, and if we have closed our eyes to this and to (the possibility of) an attack on Akaba, it was only because we knew for certain that this hostile action on the part of the Sheriffs was not in accordance with British interests, with which we were connected by strong bonds.

Before concluding, I would also draw your attention to the question of M. . . which the above-mentioned letter of yours, unlike that of the 2nd October, 1924, does not mention. Nor is there mention of the railway, which we had previously ordered to be cut in several places. I beg you to be so good as to furnish me with further information on these two points.

As to your reference to the readiness of His Majesty's Government to (engage in) negotiations with me regarding the question at issue between me and Irak and the question of the delimitation of frontiers between Nejd and Transjordan, I have to

state that I am most willing to settle these two questions finally, but to send a representative to London or some other place, as is suggested in your letter, for negotiations on the subject, is not possible for me. I should, however, be very pleased to receive a representative if he would come here for a conference about the two questions, and a final settlement of them, in my presence.

(Seal of Ibn Saud.)

No. 121

*Mr Bullard to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 20)*

(No. 119)

(Telegraphic) R

Jeddah, July 20, 1925.

YOUR telegram No 51.

Reply from Ibn Saud received 14th July. He says he is sure nothing will happen. As to the question of the railway, he says that if the British Government, against his tribes, he does not think latter "will remain with folded hands in face of these acts of aggression." He wants to know exact points on railway which His Majesty's Government regard as boundary. Expresses with regret inability to proceed with peace suggestion. He does not like war, but, as His Majesty's Government know, he suffered much from Hussein, and he must also respect views of people of Nejd. He will select place later.

Advancing the heat as an excuse Ibn Saud suggested about 20th August for arrival of British representative to discuss question between him and mandated territory. He will select place later.

(Sent to Bushire, Bagdad and Jerusalem.)

No. 122

*Mr Austen Chamberlain to Mr Jordan (Jeddah).*

(No. 53)

(Telegraphic) R.

Foreign Office, July 22, 1925.

On 2nd June an Akhwan raiding party 500 to 700 strong, led by Ibn Ashwan and Ibn Buzayya and made up of Mutair (Brah) and Shammar (Shajara) and Hurb, raided the Dhaifir near Naba, 35 miles south west of Nasiriyah and about 100 miles within Irak territory. Raiders took all herds of camels belonging to over 200 tents, number taken being estimated at about 2,000.

You should protest to Ibn Saud and demand immediate return of all loot, pointing out that, as the Irak Government have for several weeks past been herding refugees northwards so as to make raiding by them impossible, Ibn Saud cannot advance his old excuse of provocation by refugees in this case.

Similar instructions have been sent to Resident at Bushire.

E 4391 176 91]

No. 123.

*Consul Bullard to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 27)*

(No. 61)

Sir

Jeddah, July 8, 1925

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a translation of a letter from Ibn Saud about his relations with Asir.

A copy of this despatch and of its enclosure is being sent to Aden.

I have, &c.

R. W. BULLARD

Enclosure in No. 123.

Ibn Saud to Consul Bullard.

(Translation.)

(After respects.)

24th Dhu'l Qa'dah, 1343 (June 16, 1925.)

I SHOULD like to inform you about the condition of the Idri's territory. Long ago many complaints began to come to us from the tribes, and from his generals and leading people. They complained of the bad government there under which they were groaning, the anarchy in the land and the lack of security for life and property in their country, and they asked us to intervene in their affairs or to extend to them our influence or assistance. We rejected their applications, however, because of the strong friendship which we had with the Idri's family during his father's time; in the circumstances we were naturally unable to give

it appears, however, that the situation in the Idri's territory has become worse and worse. It has become so bad that it has become necessary for us to intervene in the affairs of his country and to take over the reins of government. There is a very ancient friendship and steady affection between us and the Idri's family. Moreover, there are many considerations and ancient reasons which compel us to assure our southern frontiers, and impious motives for the preservation of the balance of power in Air and Yemen. Consequently we could only answer the call of our friend, Sayyid-el Idri, and comply with his request, and bring the area indicated by him to comply with the order of Sayyid-el Idri, to occupy all the area the latter might

This is what has happened up till now. If anything fresh occurs, you will be duly informed.

Seal of Ibn Saud

No 124

Acting British Agent, Jeddah, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 29)

(No 121)

(Telegraphic) R

Jeddah, July 29, 1925.

Your telegram No. 53 of 22nd July.

Ibn Saud reported that mounted robbers, assisted by Dhafir, looted camels belonging to Ibn Ashwan, who in return with men of Sabien afterwards looted the camels of Dhafir.

He also reported that the Government had refused to return camels of Ashwan without promising to return Irak camels, but he implies reciprocity. I suggest further strong note and promise to examine his vague accusation.

(Replied to Bushire.)

(E 4471, 181/91)

No 125.

M. de Fleurbaey to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 30.)

L'AMBASSADEUR de France a été chargé de remercier son Excellence le principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires étrangères de sa communication du 18 mai dernier relative aux phares de la mer Rouge, dont le Gouvernement français a apprécié l'esprit amical.

Il lui semble, toutefois, que la thèse du Gouvernement anglais telle qu'elle est exposée dans la communication du 18 mai dernier, relative aux phares de la mer Rouge, concerne la portée juridique de la concession régulièrement reconnue à l'Administration des Phares.

Il est exact que les quatre feux de la mer Rouge ont été construits à la suite de l'arrangement du 27 avril/9 mai 1899 entre l'Administration des Phares et l'Empire ottoman. Mais cet accord—simple arrangement provisoire—ne constitue pas, comme le laisse entendre le Foreign Office, la véritable base juridique du droit du concessionnaire. Cette base est en réalité l'accord fondamental du 2/14 avril 1881.

Il est dit, en effet, dans le préambule de l'arrangement de 1899 que celui-ci vise

Mokka) compris dans le contrat de concession des feux de la mer Rouge, accordé à la date du 2/14 avril 1881, qui doit être considérée comme la charte fondamentale de l'Administration des Phares pour la mer Rouge et le golfe Persique."

L'arrangement de 1899, au contraire, ne concerne que la construction proprement dite des phares dont le principal se trouvait déjà établi en 1881. C'est un arrangement additionnel dont certaines dispositions d'un caractère provisoire ont été revues depuis. C'est ainsi qu'un nouvel arrangement, signé le 30 août 1904, modifiait l'article 8 du contrat de 1881, en le remplaçant par les dispositions suivantes: "L'objet de deux arrangements ultérieurs, respectivement datés des 6 septembre 1906 et 1<sup>er</sup> février 1911, entre l'Administration des Phares et l'Empire ottoman."

Le Gouvernement français fait donc des réserves formelles quant à l'interprétation donnée au contrat de l'Administration des Phares par le paragraphe 2 du memorandum de son Excellence le principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires étrangères. Ce point devra être examiné avec une particulière attention si des entretiens reprennent entre le Gouvernement britannique et la société concessionnaire.

En ce qui concerne la question du statut politique définitif des lies, la solution préconisée par la note de votre Excellence, c'est-à-dire l'attribution à la Grande-Bretagne de la souveraineté de ces lies occupées en fait par la marine britannique, rencontre une sérieuse difficulté, c'est que la souveraineté de ces territoires est en fait l'objet d'un accord particulier entre le Gouvernement britannique et les autres Puissances coignataires d

toutes les Puissances intéressées, étant bien entendu que les droits de l'Administration française des Phares ottomans sur les quatre phares seraient entrés en vigueur.

L'Ambassadeur de France est chargé de faire connaître au principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires étrangères l'acquiescement du Gouvernement français à ces conditions. Dans ces conditions, le Gouvernement français donnerait son adhésion à la proposition britannique et il n'a pas, d'ailleurs, l'intention de soulever des difficultés en ce qui concerne les avantages que l'Angleterre tire déjà de son occupation de fait.

Ainsi pourrait être établie la base légale envisagée par Mr. Chamberlain pour rendre définitif l'arrangement à intervenir entre le Gouvernement britannique et l'Administration des Phares. Le Gouvernement français ne doute pas que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté n'apprécie la valeur de cette adhésion.

En ce qui concerne Mokka, enfin, il serait entendu que le Gouvernement anglais donnerait, sous une forme appropriée, une assurance analogue dans l'intérêt français.

Un tel arrangement étant, par ailleurs, hautement désirable pour la bonne marche des services d'intérêt public assurés dans la mer Rouge par l'Administration des Phares, M. Briand estime qu'il serait opportun de reprendre, sans tarder, les entretiens officiels entre les représentants du Département anglais compétent et ceux de cette Administration sur la base de la réunion du 20 octobre 1924.

La question du bateau-feu de Fad pourrait être provisoirement réservée pour un examen ultérieur, lorsque les premiers résultats de principe et, en premier lieu, l'élaboration d'un tarif se trouveront acquis.

M. de Fleurbaey a l'honneur de faire part de ces suggestions à son Excellence le principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires étrangères et lui serait reconnaissant de lui faire connaître si elles paraissent de nature à préparer les bases d'une entente amiable au sujet de cette affaire.

M. de Fleurbaey salut, &amp;c.

Ambassade de France, Londres,

le 28 juillet 1925



No. 126

✓ (b) Secret.)

*Jeddah, July 20, 1925.*

I HAVE the honour to enclose a report on the situation covering the period the 1st to 20th July.

2 Copies of this despatch and of its enclosure are being sent to India. Egypt  
K... ..  
S... ..

I have &c  
R W BULLARD

Enclosure in No. 126.

Report for the Period July 1-26, 1925

(Secret.)

...has stated, for the  
...been invited by the Idrisi to  
...and that, out of friendship for the  
...and to preserve the balance of  
...according to the request, and had given the  
...ding his forces in Aair

ad, as we thought, not got so far as the Egyptian

in the Hedjaz and the Arabian Desert. The Government of the Hedjaz on the 14th of August issued an order to the effect that the Hedjaz Railway Company should pay the Government of the Hedjaz for the use of the Hedjaz Railway Company an order on the manager of the Hedjaz Railway at Ma'an for £100,000 per year. The balance in each case would be about £18. They will probably never collect that, but they are lucky to get away on any terms. Many of the Arab tribes, such as the Hadya, are prepared to sell them to the Arabs.

[illegible]

Abd. Saud claims that 80,000 Nephia were present at Arafat for the Hajj. This number is, of course, exaggerated. The pilgrims who have reached Meccah say that the Nephia were very numerous: "The plain was full of them". There were, of course, few pilgrims from overseas: they consisted mainly of about 2,500 who came from or via India through Rabigh; a few hundred from Syria, Turkey, West Africa, &c., who travelled via Musawwa' and Kufsah, and an unknown, but not large number of S. Arabian & N. Arabs who sailed from Musawwa' and other ports to Kofra.

All reports indicate that the pilgrimage was very healthy and that there was no epidemic of any kind.

6 The pilgrims from India, who travelled to Mecca via Rabigh took five days on the road, but arrived safe. The charge for camels was low and no extortion was practised by the Arab drivers.

7. The Hedjaz Government agreed to allow pilgrims returning from the Hajj to meet British pilgrims at Rabigh. In the event of a ~~British~~ <sup>British</sup> pilgrim being stranded for criticism, I informed Ibn Saud that, while the Jeddah route was open for pilgrims bound for India, they could, if they liked, e.g., if they had left baggage at Rabigh, travel back by the way they came, but I said that if British pilgrims should come to Jeddah, Ibn Saud replied that the Indian pilgrims wanted to go to Rabigh, and the Malays too. A document purporting to be a petition from British Malays, asking for steamers to be sent to Rabigh, was enclosed. Most of the signatures were in the

same hand, and the petition began with the untrue statement that the Hedjaz Government had prevented the signatories from travelling to Mecca via Jeddah. All the Far Eastern pilgrims in Mecca for this Hajj, except perhaps a dozen or so, were due to the fact that, at the time when the Far Eastern pilgrims usually travel, Jeddah was closely besieged, and not to any opposition on the part of the Hedjaz Government. The petition was, of course, concocted by the people who used to forge similar documents in Hussein's time, with the object of supporting Ibn Saud's plan to divert all the pilgrim trade to Rabigh. But this plan is not possible, and both the Netherlands consul and I were obliged to explain to Ibn Saud that for several reasons it was necessary that the Far Eastern pilgrims should come to Jeddah rather than Rabigh. The Blue Funnel and Dutch lines will not send their big steamers to an agency at Rabigh whereby arrangements can be made for such ships, which make a call at Jeddah as an incident in their voyage to the East, and do not make special pilgrim voyages, as the Indian ships do, to call at a given hour for a given number of pilgrims, and, finally, many British Malays and all Javanese are registered at their respective consulates in Jeddah and have to call here for their tickets or for some formality or other. Ibn Saud's reply was rather curt, but the Malays and Javanese were duly sent to Jeddah. It is quite clear that none of them had wanted to make the five-day journey to Rabigh or took the least interest in the Indian delegation's efforts to make Rabigh the pilgrim port.

S. Rahigh does very well indeed for a small number of pilgrims, but it would not meet the requirements of a normal season. The commanding officer of H. M. S. "Cornflower" estimates that only four or five ships could lie at anchor in the harbour, and that ships which were much bigger than the ordinary Indian pilgrim steamers would have difficulty in turning, and outside the harbour the water is too deep to anchor. This would not do for a normal season, when pilgrims pour in from seven or eight ports and when as many as twenty steamers lie at anchor in Jeddah Harbour waiting for the pilgrims to return.

9. About 200 British Malays and 1 000 Takrums have reached Jeddah from Mecca. One or two seem to have been robbed by Wahabis on the way, but most of the parties saw no Arabs at all.

10 Many, if not all, of the Wahabi troops released by the raising of the siege of Jeddah made for Medina, not for Mecca. A body of some 3,000 passed through Rabigh. They retook Badr and went on towards Medina. It appears that all the tribes between here and Medina, except those in the immediate neighbourhood of Yambo, have gone over to Ibn Saud and have been received by him on condition that they help in the siege of Medina.

If persistent stories received from Mecca through pilgrims are to be believed, Ibn Saud is having some trouble with his people about Jeddah. They want to rush the defence, which they could easily do while they are so numerous and the defence is so weak, but require as a reward permission to plunder the town. Ibn Saud, while equally anxious to end the struggle, and aware that the quickest way to do it is to take Jeddah, does not dare to risk another Taif.

11 One of the Germans who left a few months ago has returned with four others who profess to be air pilots. All that these pilots have done is to smash the old Armstrong aeroplane after a few very short flights. This leaves only one machine—a de Havilland—not all capable of flight.

12 King Ah has asked whether His Majesty's Government would receive a certain Egyptian lawyer, Hassan Sabri, as his representative in London, in place of Dr. Naj-al-Asid. His Majesty's Government replied that they were not prepared in the present circumstances to receive a Hedjaz representative in London, either officially or unofficially.

13. An Indian delegation consisting of representatives from the Caliphate Committee and the Committee of Ulama appear to have travelled to Mecca via Bahigh. At the Hajj feast (Id al Adha) at Muna to exchange speeches with Ibn Saud. The leader of the delegation, Muhammad Shafi' al Dawudi, who began by praising the state of security on the road, said that they and the Moslem world were expecting the Holy Land to be cleansed from all impurity—especially from the stain of foreign suzerainty. They approved of Ibn Saud's plan not to rule over the Hedjaz or to make it part of his dominions, but simply to clear it of Hussein and his sons and of the project to call a conference of the Moslem world to deal with the question.

[14003]

In his reply, Ibn Saud declared that his aims in regard to the Hedjaz differed in no way from theirs. He had come to the Hedjaz not by his own desire, but compelled by the necessity of defending the pilgrimage and treating Meccans and visitors with oppression. He had another reason for attacking Hussein, it was to defend his own country against the efforts of Hussein and his sons to destroy it and the Saud family. He had the proofs of their entry into the Hedjaz, and he would not relax his efforts until he had established security and peace there.

Ibn Saud before God and the Moslem world that his aims were limited to three principles—

- (1) He wished to preach the name of God and to make people cling to their religion.
- (2) His belief was that of his pious ancestors and his doctrine their doctrine. His doctrine was founded on the Koran, the correct traditions, the commands of the orthodox caliphs (i.e., the first four), the acts of the Imams, Abu Hanifah, Malik, Al Shafi and Ahmad (Ibn Hanbal), and of such Moslem divines as followed the Koran and the sunnah.
- (3) He was completely independent in his territory, and no one had the right to interfere in its affairs in any way whatsoever. It is true that there was a treaty between him and a certain Power, relating to the safeguarding of certain interests essential to his territory. There were precedents for that in the times of the Prophet and the Orthodox caliphs. God forbid that he should admit any foreign interference in his territory, such interference would be contrary both to his religion and to his honour.

He had not acquired the country in which he lived by any help either from within or without. He seized it by the grace of God and the power of his sword when all the people were his enemies. Was it likely that, when all these territories had come under his rule, he would dare to admit anything prejudicial to his religion or his honour? God forbid!

It was through God and his sword that he attained honour and glory, no State helped him, no Government carried him to success with its forces. The title by which his community and his people knew him was sufficient for him, whether he was called General or Amir or King. Outward show did not matter. The army they saw before them at the Hajj was not more than a tenth of the Nejd capable of bearing arms.

He had recently urged a party of Meccans who came to see him not to put their trust in the title of Shercef, or in office or rank. Bilal the Abyssinian was preferred to the Prophet's uncle, Abu Lahab.

Nowhere in all the countries of the world did he find greater freedom than that which his people enjoyed. Moreover, what freedom was greater than the freedom of Islam, in which the weak obtained his due against the strong without bribery or oppression? He spent his energies in safeguarding their religion, &c. If he did that, he would gain, even if he ate only barley and slept on the bare ground.

14 In the course of a correspondence between His Majesty's Government and Ibn Saud about a proposed meeting of their representatives to discuss questions at issue between Nejd and Transjordan, and between Nejd and Irak, Ibn Saud was informed of King Ali's suggestion that His Majesty's Government should use their good offices with a view to ending the Nejd-Hedjaz conflict. It was made clear to Ibn Saud that His Majesty's Government would not attempt to proceed with the suggestion until they learned that it would be welcome to Ibn Saud.

15 Ibn Saud is no lover of war. His Majesty's Government, however, know what troubles he suffered during the Amirate of Hussein. The people of the Hedjaz and the people of Nejd are not inclined to peace with the Shercefs, on account of the troubles and oppression which they have endured, and he cannot do otherwise than give them what they want. British statesmen are aware. He is unable, he much regrets to say, to proceed with the suggestion.

Ali knew nothing about the enquiry made by His Majesty's Government until he was informed of it by the British statesmen. He is unable, he much regrets to say, to proceed with the suggestion.

Majesty's Government made him feel that the war was won. A few hours before Ibn Saud's answer was received he was saying that he was prepared to make sacrifices to secure peace; he would give up Tarabah and Khurmah on condition that he had Taif, Hunayyah and Khairah as outpost towns.

Jeddah is in a desperate state. There are many deaths from starvation, and the water supply is a constant source of anxiety and distress. Many of the Mecca refugees in Jeddah wish to return home, but cannot get permission from the King. Since Ali's appeal which was, of course, made known to everyone by Ali and his officials, it has been freely admitted that, failing intervention by His Majesty's Government, Ali's cause was hopeless. But the King's indecision may yet cause him to stay until it is too late to make an honourable retreat with his troops and other dependents.

I have, &c.  
R W BULLARD

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No. 127

Mr Bullard to Mr Austen Chamberlain. — (Received August 4)

(No 97)

Jeddah, July 20, 1925

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith copies of correspondence exchanged with Ibn Saud about the settlement of points at issue between him and Transjordan and Irak, and the suggestion made by King Ali that His Majesty's Government should use their good offices in the interests of peace.

2 Copies of this despatch and of its enclosures are being sent to Jerusalem, Bagdad and Bushire.

I have, &c.  
R W BULLARD

Enclosure 1 in No 127

Mr Bullard to Ibn Saud

(Translation)

(After respects.)

Jeddah, July 13, 1925

I HAVE the honour to inform your Highness that I duly received your letter No 155 dated the 24th (Dhu'l Ka'dah), and communicated its contents to His Majesty's Government. They have now instructed me to address your Highness in the following manner.

His Majesty's Government have learned with gratification that your Highness has recalled your former agreement with the British Government. His Majesty's Government now realizes that you have no longer cause to complain that the ex King Hussein and the Emir Abdullah are prolonging the war by their intrigues, since the former is now established in British territory, in Cyprus, and the Emir Abdullah is in the British mandated territory of Transjordan.

As to that part of the territory which the British Government regard themselves as responsible, it is no concern of His Majesty's Government, who only desire to see hostilities terminated as soon as possible and would gladly contribute to that end if it were in any way possible. His Majesty's Government recently received from King Ali a suggestion that they should use their good offices with a view to ending the conflict. If such a suggestion were acceptable to your Highness, His Majesty's Government would be glad to do so. It is the interest of peace and of the well-being of the people of the Hedjaz and of the Nejd that His Majesty's Government will of course not attempt to proceed with it.

Whatever your Highness may desire, His Majesty's Government are ready to depute an officer at once to discuss with your Highness outstanding questions between Nejd and territories under British mandate. They welcome your Highness's assurance that you would be delighted to receive a representative for this purpose.

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purpose in order to arrive at a final settlement in your Highness's presence, and they will be glad to learn what time and place would be convenient to you. Your Highness will doubtless realise that it is impracticable for them to send a representative to Mecca itself, or to any other place which the Moslem world regards as holy

(Compliments.)

R. W. BULLARD.

Enclosure 2 to No 127

Ibn Saud to Mr Bullard

(Translation)

(After respects.)

Dhu'l Hijjah 27, 1343 (July 18, 1925)

I HAVE received your letter dated the 13th July, 1925, and noted its contents, and I have the honour to reply as follows —

1 As to Akaba. Strict orders have been issued to all the army commanders to keep away from the Akaba area, and although I have not yet received a reply from the commanders, I am able to assure you that nothing whatever will happen in that area.

You state in your letter that His Majesty's Government are not concerned with the southern portion of the railway, but His Majesty's Government say nothing about any specific place. I therefore desire to draw their attention to the movements of the tribes around Ma'an against our tribes time and again. These movements have been more active recently, and I do not think our tribes will remain with folded hands in face of these acts of aggression, and I fear lest the area of these activities should spread farther from Ma'an.

2 As to the question of peace mediation. I am no lover of war, nor am I inclined to prolong it. His Majesty's Government are well aware of the troubles I suffered during Hussein's Emirate. The people of the Hedjaz and the people of Nejd are oppressed which they have endured, and I cannot do otherwise than give due consideration to their views. Besides this there are considerations of which right-thinking British statesmen are aware. I greatly regret that I am unable to proceed with this suggestion.

3 I am delighted at His Majesty's Government's acceptance and at their efforts to put an end to the abnormal situation between our Government and the Governments under mandate. I am prepared to receive a representative of His Majesty's Government for the discussion of pending questions, but in view of the great heat I think it better that the representative should come at the end of Muharram (about the 20th August) to such place other than Mecca and the holy places as I may think proper for the purpose.

(Compliments.)

(Seal of Ibn Saud)

No 128

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Mr Austen Chamberlain—(Received August 4.)

(No. 122)

(Telegraphic) R.

Jeddah, August 3, 1925

MY telegram No. 121

Ibn Saud now has a further complaint that camels belonging to the Ashwan are lying in the desert and being killed. He has also carried off six herds of camels. Request that they may be returned to owners.

(Sent to Baghdad.)

No 129

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 4.)

No 123

(Telegraphic)

Jeddah 4 August 1925

REPLYING TO ALEXANDRIA TELEGRAM No. 122 of August 1, 1925, on intervention in Arabia.

I have reason to believe that King Ali has promised King Fuad post of Caliph if he will intervene and bring about favourable settlement of present Arabian dispute.

Egyptian consul to-day hinted that his Government should send troops to Hedjaz and should take it over from Ali, considering, apparently, that Fuad's lien on the Caliphate would be furthered if in charge of holy places.

(Sent to Alexandria)

No 130

Mr Austen Chamberlain to Mr Henderson (Cairo)

(No. 101)

(Telegraphic)

Foreign Office August 7 1925

YOUR telegram No. 270 of 2nd August. Egyptian mediation in Hedjaz dispute.

You may inform Egyptian Acting Prime Minister that His Majesty's Government have no objection to any mediation in the Hedjaz conflict on the part of King Fuad or his Government.

This is not to be taken as an indication that there is a question of the despatch of troops from Egypt to the Hedjaz, as suggested in Jeddah telegram No. 123 of 3rd August.

Please repeat to Jeddah.

No 131

Mr Austen Chamberlain to Mr. Jordan (Jeddah)

(No. 54)

(Telegraphic) R.

Foreign Office, August 10, 1925.

Mr BULLARD'S telegram No. 110 of 5th July. Mr Bullard's telegram No. 110 of 5th July. You should now inform Emir Ali, with reference to message conveyed in Mr Bullard's telegram No. 109 of 20th June, that on the receipt of his appeal His Majesty's Government asked the Sultan of Nejd whether he would accept the good offices of a representative to be appointed by His Majesty's Government in an endeavour to reach a settlement of the differences between the Hedjaz and Nejd, that Ibn Saud has now replied that he is unable to accept such mediation, and that consequently His Majesty's Government are regretfully compelled to refrain from any further attempt at intervention unless or until both parties shall spontaneously invite them to assist in the re-establishment of peace.

No 132

Mr Austen Chamberlain to Mr. Jordan (Jeddah)

(No. 55)

(Telegraphic) R.

Foreign Office, August 10, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 119 of 20th July: Negotiations with Ibn Saud

You should inform Ibn Saud in reply that His Majesty's Government have received no information in regard to the reported activities of tribes round Maan but that they are communicating with Palestine authorities with view to obtaining report on the activities of which His Highness complains.

With regard to Ibn Saud's enquiry where Transjordan boundary crosses Hedjaz Railway, you should invite his attention to previous message addressed to

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him by His Majesty's Government. In particular, see my despatch No. 8 of 5th January, which states that boundary crosses railway in neighbourhood of M. dawara.

You should also remind Ibn Saud that His Majesty's Government are urgently awaiting his suggestion regarding place at which proposed conference would be held, on learning which they will at once proceed to appoint delegate.

No. 132

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 14.)

(No. 124) Jeddah, August 13, 1925.  
(Telegraphic) R.  
SULTAN of Najd requests permission for envoys from Hedjaz and Nejd to go to India, Egypt and East Indies in order to raise charitable funds and to expound Wahabi belief and contradict lies and false rumours concerning them, also to assure Mussulmans that a road to Mecca is open and that safety is guaranteed. Requests early reply.

Also sends to British, French, Italian, Netherlands, Soviet and Persian consuls joint communication requesting respective Governments to inform their Moslem subjects that the way to Mecca is open and that the way to Mecca is open and is safe.

No. 134

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 19.)

(No. 126) Jeddah, August 19, 1925.  
(Telegraphic) R.  
FOREIGN Office telegram No. 55.  
Ibn Saud replies that he hopes that His Majesty's Government's delegate will be sent soon, and he is prepared to meet him near their encampment outside Jeddah. He requires five days' notice only to make arrangements for meeting and conducting delegate to rendezvous.  
Thanks British Government for interest shown regarding his statement of tribal activity round Maan.  
King Ali had no objection to delegate passing through lines of defence.

No. 135

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 20.)

(No. 127) Jeddah, August 20, 1925.  
(Telegraphic) R.  
AT the urgent request of King Ali I have temporarily refrained from granting refuge to and repatriating slaves from Jeddah.  
Ali asserts that he is in favour of abolition of slavery and is prepared to enforce it gradually when peace is declared, but considers situation at present critical and feeling is high on slavery question.  
I have repatriated twenty slaves since 21st July, and seven are awaiting shipment.  
May I have confirmation of my action, or should I continue as formerly?

No. 136

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Government of India (Foreign Department).—(Reprinted to Foreign Office, Received August 25.)

(No. 129) Jeddah, August 25, 1925.  
(Telegraphic) R.  
YOUR unnumbered telegram of the 24th.  
Tomb of Syed Na Hamza reported destroyed by forces of Ibn Saud and Kubla of prophets [sic] struck by bullets.  
(Sent to Foreign Office.)

No. 137

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 25.)

(No. 130) Jeddah, August 25, 1925.  
(Telegraphic) R.  
HEDJAZ Government have issued pamphlet addressed to Indian delegation which is intended to be distributed in India, in which they claim that a secret treaty exists between His Majesty's Government and Ibn Saud, and that terms are such and Ibn Saud's actions are governed by Great Britain. Also that delegation's reception in Mecca was due to intervention of His Majesty's Government, pamphlet draws attention to destruction of tombs and massacre at Taif.

It would appear to be a clumsy effort to obtain support of Indian delegation, which would seem to favour Ibn Saud, by playing on their anti-British feelings.

They consider that anything in connection with British interest would be new to the delegates.

I venture to suggest that His Majesty's Government should protest against general tone of pamphlet.  
(Sent to India.)

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No. 138

Acting Consul Jordan to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 1.)

(No. 73. Secret.) Jeddah, August 10, 1925.  
Sir,  
I HAVE the honour to enclose a report on the situation covering the period the 21st July to the 10th August.  
2. Copies of this despatch and of its enclosures are being sent to India, Egypt, Khartoum (through Port Sudan), Jerusalem, Bagdad, Beirut (for Damascus), Aden, Singapore, Bushire, Kuwait, Bahrain and Muscat.

I have, Sir,  
S. R. JORDAN

Enclosure 1 to No. 138

Report for the Period July 31-August 10, 1925.

(Secret)  
DURING the period under report the internal situation appears to have become more impossible every day. Amir Ali and his followers are resorting to all possible means to obtain money and now that to all intents and purposes it appears impossible to procure any outside the Hedjaz he has commenced extorting money from the merchants in Jeddah. This on account of the dire poverty already existing would appear to be the final effort of Ali to keep his throne, and hold the Wahabis at bay.  
About the end of July the kaimakam of the town was instructed to call a meeting of the principal merchants of Jeddah, and when assembled were informed that the Government required £20,000 and they, the merchants were to produce it. After much argument and a blank refusal on the part of the kaimakam and other merchants (the kaimakam is the principal merchant in the town) the amount was reduced from



£20,000 to £10,000, and the King offered as security certain property of his at present in Wahabi hands. This also was refused and a deadlock reached. At the same time on the following Friday the King refused to receive any of the merchants and ignored them completely. Subsequent arrangements have produced about £4,000 which has already been paid to the soldiers to keep them in the trenches.

The Government are now forcing merchants, under threat of the confiscation of their property, to subscribe to this war fund such amounts as the King considers reasonable, amounts varying from £20 to £200. In this way the tottering throne may be steadied for a while, but in a town where starvation is rife and business at a complete standstill it would appear to be only hastening the end. A number of deaths occur daily from starvation, also from beriberi and scurvy produced by under nourishment.

The general state of despondency of the King and Government was considerably relieved about the 1st August when a letter from Mr. Philby written from London and addressed to the Director of Customs, arrived here. He asked on what conditions the Hedjaz Government would be prepared to grant concessions for oil and railways, &c., as he had met certain financiers in England who were prepared to put money into the Hedjaz and had advised them to go on. The King and Foreign Secretary at first saw in this the end of all their troubles and worries, and were prepared to grant anything. Potential oil fields at Dubba, railways, mines and ports sprang to their minds, and the money not less than half a million as mentioned to me, was already as good as in their hands. But they failed to realise that all these sources of wealth, if they exist, were for the present in Ibn Saud's hands and likely to remain there. The Foreign Secretary called one evening to know if Ibn Saud would be handing at present owing to the war. I told him that it was highly improbable, and that English capitalists would hardly be prepared to put capital into a State where security could not be reasonably guaranteed. The general state of despondency again prevails.

On the 25th July grace to £7,000 received from ex King Hussein and a further £5,000 from Egypt, evidently a part of the revenues of the Sherrefal property in Egypt, two months' wages were paid to the soldiers in the outer fortifications, but the irregulars in Jeddah received only a few medjidehs each. The King

on the 27th July or thereabouts telling him that he is endeavouring to send him £14,000, and under no circumstances to leave Jeddah. I have been unable to confirm this information, but have no reason to doubt its veracity in view of the lack and a lack of representation by Feisal from charitable funds during May last.

It was also rumoured that a certain Tawil mentioned in my predecessor's reports, who had left Jeddah some months ago, had arranged an advance of £8,000 from an Italian bank in Mussana. But this appears highly improbable as the Government have no security to offer.

Abdullah stating that Ibn Saud was weak and that peace negotiations would soon commence, and to await his letter which would explain all.

A further telegram from Feisal also advised Ali to hold on, as it would be detrimental to their family name if he were defeated by Ibn Saud. Should he not be able to hold out, then make peace direct or indirectly on best conditions possible, but in any case not to leave the Hedjaz.

I cannot guarantee the authenticity of these telegrams, but the information came from an employee of the King and should be fairly accurate though perhaps subject to exaggeration.

2. At the request of the King the Egyptian consul sent a telegram to King Fuad. To date no answer has been received, but as Ibn Saud has already intimated that no outside intervention will be tolerated, it is difficult to see what good King Fuad can do. It appears that King Ali has promised to support King Fuad's nomination for the Caliphate in return for his services.

Since writing the above, the Egyptian consul has called. King Ali was pressing him to send a letter to King Fuad. I asked the Egyptian consul if this was the first time he had been called by the Government of the Hedjaz, and he was most emphatic that it was. Consequently, I am at a loss to understand why the Acting Prime Minister

in Egypt should inform Mr. Henderson that he had received a request from King Ali transmitted by the Egyptian consul. The Egyptian consul has promised to provide me confidentially with a copy of the letter. About half an hour after this interview Sheikh Fuad, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, called at this agency and produced what purports to be a copy of the letter to the King of Egypt. I am attaching a translation, but will first see if the two notes so voluntarily offered agree in substance.

They would appear to be either working in collusion and trying to blind this agency, or King Ali is or has been in direct touch with King Fuad to the exclusion of the Egyptian consul. Probably more light will be thrown on this matter in the near future and will figure in my next report.

3. A certain amount of dissension arose in the local Government recently and culminated in Sheikh Fuad the Minister for Foreign Affairs, submitting his resignation to the King's secretary, one Fadil Saggaf, who, as a matter of fact, was the chief cause of the trouble. Saggaf wishing to keep the matter from the King and wishing also that Fuad had not gone quite so far visited Sheikh Fuad in his house and after sundry apologies and regrets requested him to withdraw his resignation.

Sheikh Fuad who had had no intention of resigning really, was satisfied with this moral victory and withdrew his resignation and reassumed his duties after an absence of twenty-four hours (Friday).

The dispute arose over the King, through Fuad, giving permission for about 100 British subjects or protected persons to proceed to Mecca. Knowing that certain French, Italian and Netherlands subjects wished to go to Mecca, where living is much cheaper than in Jeddah, I approached my colleagues with the idea of a joint note to Ibn Saud requesting the necessary permission for our respective nationals to enter Mecca, thereby I considered making Ibn Saud's responsibility greater and assuring greater protection. This was readily granted, and a copy of the joint note and Ibn Saud's reply is attached hereto. Fadil Saggaf objected to these people proceeding, stating that it would be misconstrued by the Wahabias who would think that the foreign Powers were anxious to get their nationals out of Jeddah and send them to Mecca, and Saggaf brought the council to his point of view, at which stage Fuad stated that the King had already given his assent and could not go back on it and so he withdrew. As stated above the matter was later settled and the combined party is to leave on the 10th August (to-day).

A copy of the joint note setting out certain regulations which these persons were to observe, and the reply sent by myself and my colleagues, is attached.

4. The military situation is most precarious. Rumours to-day state that 300 of the 600 to 700 regular troops engaged in Jeddah are demanding their release and return to their country. They are mostly Yemenis, and the steamship "Tawil," which has been lying in Jeddah for some days, left for Port Sudan to obtain a supply of coal and water and will, so the Government informed the soldiers, be used for their repatriation as soon as she returns.

Besides the above there are now some 2,000 Bedouin irregulars within the defences of Jeddah, but they are badly armed and equipped, some having the exceedingly long large-bore rifle of no mean antiquity.

The steamship "Radwa" brought from Akaba certain guns and ammunition which arrived from Medina by train. There were 2 guns and 1 howitzer, 3 machine guns, of which one is unserviceable, and about 1,400 cases of gun ammunition and some 160 cases of small arms ammunition. She brought also some 170 fighting ranks, and supposedly some 12 prisoners of war. There was much rejoicing at this, and the local population were jubilant at the discomfort of these latter. It later transpired that they were criminals from Medina that they thought unsafe to leave there.

The Wahabias, about 1,000 strong, have again appeared before Jeddah on the 5th instant but so far have refrained from hostile action. They appear to be a watch post, whilst the main force, composed of approximately 10,000 troops are besieging Medina. Telegrams (wireless) from Medina state that the enemy are numerous and the town besieged but that only small attacks have taken place between the outposts and reconnoitring patrols for the present.

Ibn Saud's declarations in the Mecca paper, "Umm-al Kura," throw light on these operations together with the attitude he seems about to adopt as regards the Hedjaz. A translation of these articles is attached. It would appear that, owing to

the fact that he cannot restrain his men in the attack, and much loss of life and damage to property and religious relics and monuments would occur if the town was stormed, he has decided to adopt siege methods so as not to earn a bad name for his followers. Whether he will be able to restrain their natural ardour remains to be seen.

It is now about a month since the town was captured. The population is about 10,000. The town is well supplied with food and water. The population is well supplied with food and water. The population is well supplied with food and water.

It is from all reports very satisfactory and, except that the townfolk are obliged to attend prayers five times a day, no other liberties (sic) seem to have been curtailed or modified. Naturally, at first there were several incidents, one of which took place in the Indian book-merchants' quarter. But, except for bruises nobody was much the worse for it. On the following day, however, a collision occurred between Ibn Saud's partisans and some Mecca people, and the result was one killed and many wounded. Order was quickly restored, and Ibn Saud removed the more fanatical of his troops to some distance outside the town.

Ibn Saud, it is rumoured, visited Rabigh and returned to Mecca the following day. I hope to confirm this later from the pilgrimage officer and others who were in Rabigh attending to the pilgrims during this period.

It appears also that Ibn Saud has been sending agents to Eritrea through Kinfada to obtain, if possible, war material to prosecute his campaign more vigorously. Whether he has been successful or not I do not know, but an Italian ship is reported to have put in at Lath and discharged a large cargo.

A certain Abd al Hilal, an agent of Ibn Saud, is supposed to be in Aden, where he has bought a small ship. He was in Eritrea before proceeding to Aden.

territory by the Akhwan tribes on the Dhafir, was received from the Foreign Office, and a note was sent to Ibn Saud protesting and demanding the return of the camels carried off. His rather non-committal reply setting out several counter claims was received on the 26th July. Later, without any further action on the part of this agency, he sent a further note much more conciliatory in tone, and stated that the camels were at Riyadh at the disposal of the British Government.

Information has also been received that Ibn Saud recently called a meeting of the notables of Mecca and informed them that it had originally been his intention of handing Mecca and Medina, and, in fact, the whole of the Hedjaz, over to the representatives of the Moslem world to administer, but he has come to the conclusion that this would not solve the problem, and has decided to hold it himself as the best solution, assuring all Moslems of free access and liberty within the boundaries of the territory under his control.

6 The pilgrimage has been very successful apparently, and most of the pilgrims have returned to India. The steamship "Alavi" leaves Rabigh not later than the 10th August, and is putting in to Jeddah to receive some forty destitute Indians and others with return tickets. The steamship "Jahangir" is returning to Rabigh about the end of August to pick up stragglers, and I propose, should it be necessary, to get her to put into Jeddah also to take stragglers from here.

The pilgrimage has been healthy, and it was found unnecessary for the ships to put into Kataran for quarantine.

7 Referring to my predecessor's report of the 30th June, I have been supplied with the Imam Yahya of Yemen. The preamble, omitted in the previous report, reads as follows:—

"The aim of the undersigned of this agreement being progress of Arab affairs both morally and politically, securing their economical interests, keeping away those who try to interfere in the affairs of Arab dominions and, in virtue of the Islamic obligations and with respect to the needs of their widespread country in securing prosperity, peace and tranquillity they have made up their minds, for their own persons and on behalf of their heirs and successors, to

conclude this joint agreement for attaining the above good aim. The high parties are His Highness the Imam Yahya Hamid ul Din, the Imam of Yemen and His Hashimite Majesty King Ah bin Hussein of Hedjaz, who have decided to sign the following:—

S R JORDAN

Enclosure 2 in No. 138

His Majesty King Ah to His Majesty King Fuad of Egypt

(Translation.)

I HAVE to thank God for your Majesty's recovery from the indisposition which weighed heavily on the souls of all the friends. I entreat the Almighty to grant you the best of health and to save you from any bad incidents, and that the new Al Hiyra year would be auspicious to all the Islamic world, especially the Holy Land, which gets the biggest share of your Majesty's care and finds a great patron in your person, following the policy of your respectable family, which is still in the best remembrance and praise of the Holy Land, especially we the shereefs of O an branch.

Since then we were connected with strong bonds which, by the grace of God, will never be broken.

The Holy Land and its people expect in your Majesty's person every sympathy and assistance, being the greatest Moslem King nowadays ruling one of the nearest Moslem country to the Haramain, and the most zealous for the tradition and the religion not to be handled by evil doers.

I personally and through my agents and others of religious enthusiasm for the poor and needy in the neighbourhood of "Bait-ullah el Haram," and such as the delivery of arms supplied which is meant for the defence of souls and the protection of "Al Ka'aba" of the whole Moslem world.

If your Majesty would be good enough as to render any advice or opinion which may lead to the cessation of the present hostilities and the spread of peace, it would be the greatest favour of your Majesty towards the Moslem world in general and God in particular.

Enclosure 3 in No. 138.

British, French, Italian, Netherlands and Persian Representatives in Jeddah to Ibn Saud

(Translation.)

After respects,

July 28, 1925

WE the undersigned representatives of foreign Powers in Jeddah request that you will permit a number of our subjects, details of which are given below, to proceed to Mecca from Jeddah for the purposes of joining their families or for trade.

It is further requested that you afford them a safe conduct through the territory under your control and place at their disposal sufficient hired transport, for which the usual payment will be made by them.

If suitable to you it is suggested that they be authorised to leave Jeddah on the 20th day of Muharrem, 1344.

|                                     |     |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| British subjects, approximately     | 110 |
| French subjects, approximately      | 50  |
| Netherlands subjects, approximately | 6   |
| Italian subjects, approximately     | 10  |
| Persian subjects, approximately     | 2   |

Total 178

(Compliments)



## Enclosure 4 in No. 138

*Letter sent to the British, French, Italian, Netherlands and Persian Representatives in Jeddah*

(After respects)

August 1, 1925

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 28th July, 1925, relative to the departure of certain nationals of yours for Mecca. I have to welcome everybody who comes to this country, especially your respectable subjects, for whom we shall do our best to secure their comfort.

As regards providing camels for their transport, I have issued orders to that effect; and according to the estimate of the authorities concerned 360 camels are put for the 174 people at the rate of two camels for each person and 100 pairs of shuglufs at the rate of one shugluf for every two people approximately.

If you see that the above number is less or more than required, you are kindly requested to let us know. Camels will be stationed at the usual place near Nuzla al Yamania, also this caravan will leave Mecca on the 10th instant (Arabic month).

(Compliments)

## Enclosure 5 in No. 138

*Minister for Foreign Affairs, Hedjaz Government, to the Acting British Agent and Consul, Jeddah*

(Translation)

(After respects)

August 5, 1925

As the date of departure of certain nationals of yours, by the sanction of His Majesty the King, is drawing near, I have the honour to invite your attention to the following:—

- 1 Your nationals are to be instructed not to give any information or news to the other fighting party about conditions at Jeddah or other Hedjaz localities connected with Jeddah by the sea, whether these informations or news are about military, financial or general affairs or the like which is prohibited by the laws of war as known to you.
- 2 Your nationals are to be instructed not to carry any letter, message or document, whether clear or not, to the other fighting party or to anybody else connected with them either personally or through a medium, in view of the harm which might be brought on the Hedjaz Government.
- 3 It should be made clear to those nationals that they must not interpret their departure to Mecca in any sense other than its actual meaning. Such obligations are imposed upon them by the sense of honour and by their political situation towards the present war, and are meant to prevent the spread of mischievous rumours which certain people tried to propagate at Jeddah as connected with this trip. The spread of such rumour though not true made a good number of local subjects who made the same application to become anxious. It is regretted that such rumours are of the same nature as may be spread in such critical moments.
- 4 A list showing the names and numbers of the persons travelling should be sent to be kept in the files.

Although I am confident that you will agree to the above, appreciating the request to be decent, yet I am quite sure in the meantime, that you are aware of the idea of that letter which is no more than the necessity of military precautions and responsibility of duty, inasmuch as the friendly relations are luckily very good between the Hedjaz Government and your Government, whom you represent quite impartially to any of the fighting parties.

(Compliments)

## Enclosure 6 in No. 138

*British, French, Italian, Netherlands and Persian Representatives to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Hedjaz Government.*

(Translation)

EN réponse à votre lettre en date du 15 Moharrem courant, j'ai l'honneur d'informer votre Excellence que mes ressortissants ont conscience de la neutralité de mon Gouvernement dans le conflit actuel entre le Hedjaz et le Nedj.

A leur départ de Djeddah pour La Mecque ils seront munis des documents nécessaires à leur voyage.

La caravane de mes ressortissants partira donc de la porte de La Mecque de bonne heure le 30 Moharrem, et je vous en suis reconnaissant de vouloir bien prescrire toutes mesures nécessaires pour leur libre passage.

Veuillez agréer, &c

## Enclosure 7 in No. 138

*Extracts from the Mecca Newspaper "Umm al Kura"*

(1)—Issue of July 18, 1925

(Translation)

THE leading article on the first page is a comment on the proclamation of the Egyptian Government for the Hajj. It deals, in a friendly manner, with certain points of the proclamation and ends in telling the Egyptian Government that it would have been better if they had sent a committee to examine the case and ascertain the situation before issuing that proclamation.

On the second page, there is a report, with the following text:—  
"The Highness of the Hedjaz Government, after a meeting of his generals and heads of troops and asked them to follow his advice, which was that those who were of old here will return home and be replaced by the newcomers. They first refused and declared that they wanted to remain, but His Highness insisted on the first decision."

They at last complied.

This being accomplished, the forces were divided as follows:—

- 1 An army of ten "Alwiyah" under Feisal ed Duash will be sent to the north.
- 2 An army to besiege Jeddah.
- 3 An army to encamp at Bahra and Mecca as reserve.

The rest of the troops not required were sent back to Nejd.

The intervention of the Russian and Persian consuls for peace is also referred to in this number, and "Umm al Kura" says that the news was published in the Egyptian papers before it appeared in "Umm al Kura" itself. This shows that the facts which were denied by those consuls reached the papers by some reliable means.

(2)—Issue of July 23, 1925

## GENERAL PROCLAMATION

*From Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Rahman al Faisal al Saud to all our Brethren of the Moslem World*

PRAISE be to the name of God than whom there is no God but Him, and salaams and blessings be on the Prophet &c.

I have discussed with the Indian delegation sent by the Caliphate Committee and the ulama the questions that the Moslems are interested in and want to know our views as regards them.

Sincerity and straightforwardness were observed by us during the discussion, and thanks to God, we came to a conclusion as regards all the questions dealt with.

To beat down the lies of the enemies of truth and supporters of corruption who profit by dissension of the Moslems and try to put out the light of God by their false endeavour so as to affect the sentiments of the simple Moslems who are not aware of

our conditions. I made a proclamation of the following, so that those who died would have died on evidence and those who live will have to live on evidence.—

1 I have to thank the nations that adopted towards us the position of the supporters of right and I have to thank particularly the Indians for their attitude towards the Arabs and their cause at the time when the Arabs themselves were busy with their quarrels and forgot their duties towards religion and country. I have to thank the Indians because they were the first to answer the call—may God give them the best reward for us and for Islam.

2 I still maintain my declarations about what I invited Islam for, namely, to have a universal conference to examine the questions of Hedjaz that interest the Moslems in general such as mending roads, securing peace and comfort for every one, and they will share the responsibility of governing the Hedjaz. The invitations to this conference will be renewed after means of communication are attained.

3 Independence of the Hedjaz should be secured in the same manner as we preserve our lives and that we should not allow non Moslems to have any influence there, thus we observe the duties both of our religion and our honour.

4 Sharia Law is the universal law to be put in force in the Holy Land and that the pious, honest and the four Imams should be an example for our righteous path. "Ulamas" from all countries will be consulted in all questions that require deep investigation.

5 I assure you that Medina will remain a sacred place which should not be violated. No murder or plunder should take place there. To preserve its honour in money. I can, by the grace of God, capture it in one hour, but I care for the safety of the place and the people.

I have given strict orders to the troops not to enter it (Medina) until the enemy surrenders.

As for buildings and charitable institutions, they are going to be dealt with as stated in the previous article.

Our enemies say that if we take Medina we will pull down the Prophet's tomb—No. Any Moslem would not think of that.

I am ready to die with my sons and to lose all my money for it.

I do not find any difference between Mecca and Medina. The Prophet ordered that Medina should be sacred just the same as Ibrahim ordered Mecca to be sacred.

No. 139

Mr. Jordan to Mr. Austen Chamberlain —(Received September 4)

(No. 132)

(Telegraphic.) R

FOLLOWING from Ibn Saud.

Jeddah, September 4, 1925

You are aware of lies spread by our enemies by means of wireless and of necessity of wireless station for commercial and pilgrim purposes.

Please ascertain by telegraph from British firm price, including freight, of two wireless installations, one for Mecca and other for Rabigh. I prefer to deal with British firm and hope for reply by telegraph within ten days.

Please report to Department of Overseas Trade

No. 140

Mr. Wellesley (for Secretary of State) to Mr. Jordan (Jeddah)

(No. 57)

(Telegraphic.) R

Foreign Office, September 4, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 126 of 19th August. British delegation to Ibn Saud

You should now inform Ibn Saud that His Majesty's Government have appointed Sir Galbort Clayton as their representative in forthcoming negotiations. You should make it clear that he no longer has any connection with the Palestine Government.

His Majesty's Government deprecate proposal that meeting should take place in neighbourhood of Wahabi lines outside Jeddah. Communication with His Majesty's Government during negotiations would be difficult, and it would not be dignified for British representative to conduct negotiations in the atmosphere of hostilities prevailing in the neighbourhood of Jeddah. You should therefore propose that meeting should take place at Rabigh or some other suitable place on the coast. Clayton could sail from Marseilles 11th September. Please ascertain urgently what date would be convenient for Ibn Saud to meet him.

E 5358 5358/91]

No. 141.

Vice-Consul Jordan to Mr. Austen Chamberlain —(Received September 7)

(No. 75)

I HAVE the honour to report that a German, by the name of M. Bassowitz, arrived in Jeddah by the Khedivial steamer "Mansourah" on the 10th instant together with two fellow Germans who were taking up employment with the Hedjaz Railway.

M. Bassowitz, who speaks Persian and Turkish fluently, called at this agency on the evening of the 12th instant and stated that he was proceeding to Abyssinia via Aden and Zeila, in British Somaliland, and requested a transit visa for these two places. I asked him why he preferred a camel trek through British Somaliland from Zeila instead of taking the train from Djibuti, in French territory, and I later ascertained from the French consul that he had applied for a visa for Djibuti, but that it had been refused.

M. Bassowitz informed me that he was attached to the German Foreign Office, and had been for some time a secretary at Constantinople, but that he was now on twelve months leave. He has recently visited Trebizond, Erzerum and Kars, in Turkey, and also Garmak, and, I believe, Northern Persia. He then returned to Germany and started out on his second trip through Egypt and Arabia to Abyssinia.

During the course of our conversation I gathered that he was interested in "all-metal" aeroplanes, and this has been confirmed by a note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs stating that he had been in touch with the German Government regarding an air station in Jeddah for a line of commercial aeroplanes they hoped shortly to inaugurate.

He further stated that stations had been arranged in Egypt, and that he was proceeding to Abyssinia with the object of arranging other stations there.

I have informed the Minister for Foreign Affairs that the granting of such concessions without first ascertaining what other nations may have to offer may at no distant date prejudice the prosperity of Jeddah considerably, and that it would be advisable to withhold a definite reply until the termination of hostilities between the Hedjaz and Nejd.

I refused to grant Bassowitz the transit visa to Aden and Zeila. He called again on the 14th instant and requested a transit visa for Port Sudan, as he wished to return to Egypt via Port Sudan and obtain the necessary authority to proceed direct from the British authorities in Egypt. After obtaining the visa he for some reason failed to leave by the Khedivial boat and is still in Jeddah.

Although I have no definite proof, I believe him to be also connected with the shipment of aeroplanes to the Hedjaz, reported in my telegram No. 123 of the 14th August.

A copy of this despatch is being sent to Egypt and Addis Ababa.

I have, &c.

S. R. JORDAN



Mr. Jordan to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 133)

Jeddah, September 8, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 57

Ibn Saud expresses pleasure at appointment of Sir G. Clayton, but regrets that he cannot leave the present position, and suggests Bahra or Brimani as alternative. Bahra is midway between Mecca and Jeddah. Brimani is a small town on the coast.

Ibn Saud is said to be at Bahra. Both places are accessible by sea.

E 5484 165 91]

No. 143

Colonial Office to Sir G. Clayton.—(Communicated to Foreign Office September 11)

Sir,

Downing Street, September 10, 1925.

I AM directed by Mr. Secretary Amery to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th August, notifying your acceptance of the appointment of British representative for the purpose of negotiating with the Sultan of Nejd a settlement of the frontier between the two States, and to inform you that the Government in the matters which are likely to be raised in the course of your conversations with Ibn Saud—

2 As you are aware, an attempt was made at the end of 1923 to settle the frontier between the two States, and for this purpose a conference of representatives of the States concerned assembled at Koweit in December of that year under the presidency of the British Consul-General. The proceedings of that conference are enclosed herewith for your information, together with a report of the conference. It was then decided that the conference should be held again, and it was agreed that the conference should be held at Koweit. The main objects for which the Koweit Conference was called were—

- (1) The delimitation of the frontier between Nejd and Transjordan
- (2) The prevention of trans-frontier raiding between the tribes of Irak and Nejd and the settlement of claims arising from past raids
- (3) The settlement of frontier and other disputes between Nejd and the Hedjaz. Since that conference terminated many events have occurred which have considerably modified the situation in Arabia. A brief record of these events will be found in the appendix to the report of the Committee of Imperial Defence, of which a copy is enclosed herewith.

Chief among these events was the outbreak of hostilities between the Sultan of Nejd and the King of the Hedjaz. It was then decided that the conference should be held again, and it was agreed that the conference should be held at Koweit. The main objects for which the Koweit Conference was called were—

3 Although the situation in Arabia has been very considerably altered since the Koweit Conference, it remains unsettled to day, and it is with the primary object of disposing of the first two of these questions that the negotiations, in which you are to represent His Majesty's Government, are being conducted. As a result of these negotiations, it is expected that the frontier between Nejd and Transjordan will be settled, and that the trans-frontier raiding will be prevented. It is also expected that the claims arising from past raids will be settled.

\* Not printed.

time His Majesty's Government were prepared to accept as a minimum an eastern frontier for Transjordan which would roughly follow a line drawn from the intersection of meridian 39° with parallel 32° to the intersection of meridian 37° with parallel 31° 30'. From this point the line follows meridian 37° to parallel 31°, thence to the intersection of meridian 38° with parallel 30°, and thence along meridian 38° to parallel 29° 35' or a point due west of the Nefud salient. This frontier is indicated by a red line on the attached map.† Since this frontier was decided upon the military advisers of His Majesty's Government have represented the importance, for strategic reasons, of including in Transjordan the village of Kaf. His Majesty's Government are now satisfied of the desirability of this, and you should use your utmost endeavours to secure the acceptance by Ibn Saud of a frontier substantially identical with that indicated above, but including Kaf within Transjordan territory.

4 From the telegram from Lieutenant Colonel Knox, a copy of which is appended,\* it appears likely that Ibn Saud will advance a claim to a frontier considerably to the west of the above line and extending to the north of the Jebel Anaizeh. This frontier claim is indicated by a green line on the attached map.† Such a frontier would involve the interposition of Nejd territory between Irak and Transjordan and would place Ibn Saud astride the Imperial air route to the East. This cannot be permitted, and in no circumstances should you assent to any extension of Nejd territory to the north which would have the effect of separating Irak from Transjordan. You will observe from the enclosed copy of the Iraq Nejd frontier agreement,\* with attached map † that the western extremity of this frontier is the intersection of meridian 39° N with parallel 32° E. The eastern frontier of Transjordan should in the opinion of the High Commissioner for Palestine, and of the British Government, be drawn rather in a westerly or southerly direction than in a northerly

5 In the southern sector of the eastern frontier of Transjordan Ibn Saud's claim appears equally objectionable, since, in His Majesty's Government's opinion, any more westerly tract than that proposed could not be adapted without endangering the safety of the Transjordan section of the Hedjaz Railway. You should therefore regard the northern and southern extremities of the frontier line originally proposed by His Majesty's Government as fixed, and it would be advisable to make this clear to Ibn Saud at the outset of your discussions. If however, you are unable to induce Ibn Saud to agree to the inclusion of Kaf within Transjordan, and if, in your opinion, further insistence on this point would be useless, you may in the last resort concede that village to Nejd, in which case the frontier should approximately follow the line indicated in red on the attached map.† You will observe that Ibn Saud desires the inclusion in Nejd of a tract of territory to the south of Kaf comprising the four streams running eastward into the Wadi Sirhan, viz., the Wadis Bayet, Gharra, Hana and Hedridj. His Majesty's Government are not aware to what extent this area is essential as a grazing ground to the tribes depending on Transjordan and Syria, or whether it contains a settled population. Enquiries are being made of the High Commissioner for Palestine, and steps will be taken to furnish you with precise information on these points.

From the telegram from Sir P. Cox dated the 6th December, 1922, of which a copy is enclosed,\* it will be seen that at that time Ibn Saud would have accepted a frontier roughly following the western edge of the Wadi Sirhan and leaving the greater part of this area within Transjordan.

You should point this out to Ibn Saud if he advances a claim to any territory in this region additional to that claimed in 1922, and should endeavour to resist such a claim on the ground that this territory was clearly not regarded as essential to Nejd in 1922, and His Majesty's Government are aware of no valid reason why it should be so regarded now. If however, Ibn Saud presses his claim to this tract of territory very strongly, and it appears that unless he receives some measure of satisfaction the negotiations will break down, His Majesty's Government would, as at present advised, be prepared to agree to some arrangement whereby this area would be included in Transjordan (which the tribes of both parties would be free to enter for grazing purposes). His Majesty's Government are content to leave it to your discretion, in the light of the information which you will receive from the High Commissioner for Palestine, to decide whether such an arrangement would be feasible, and if so, to work out details in agreement with Ibn Saud.

6 The question of the southern frontier of Transjordan is one of some delicacy

\* Not printed.

\* Not reproduced.

the unstable conditions obtaining in the northern districts of the Hedjaz, as pointed out above, do not at present appear to be within the effective or control of either Ibn Saud or King Ali. Consequently, any attempt to deal with one part, would be liable to give offence to the other. In view of the fact that Ibn Saud has already been informed of the southern limits of Transjordan territory, His Majesty's Government consider that it would be advisable in your conversations with him to treat this matter as a *judice* merely informing him, if he should raise the point, that the southern

crosses the Hedjaz Railway north of Mu'lawwara and joins the Gulf of Akaba.

With regard to the second main question with which you will be concerned that of the prevention of trans-frontier raiding between Iraq and Nejd tribes—I am to invite your attention to the records of the later meetings of the Kuwait Conference, and to the accompanying copy of a confidential despatch dated the 12th March, 1925, from the High Commissioner for Iraq. From these you will observe that a substantial measure of agreement was reached at Kuwait as to the steps necessary to check such raiding, but that the conference failed to reach agreement on the important question of the mutual restoration of loot and the payment of compensation in respect of damages arising out of past raids. As regards the arrangements necessary to prevent future raids, the position has been very considerably eased by the action of the Iraq Government in moving the principal

where they will not be subject to the same temptation to raid across the border and where their activities can be more easily and effectively controlled. Consequently there appear to be good grounds for hoping that on this question it will be found

His Majesty's Government's opinion, in general follow the lines of the scheme under consideration by the Kuwait Conference, unless, of course, some alternative and

agreement that may be reached on this subject might with advantage be extended, *mutatis mutandis*, to apply to Transjordan. His Majesty's Government anticipate that the settlement of outstanding claims for compensation and the restoration of loot will present greater difficulties, but you should use your best endeavours to obtain a settlement substantially in accord with the suggestions advanced in Sir H. Dobbs's despatch of the 30th June, of which a copy is appended to this letter.

In place at your disposal the services of Tawfik Bey Al Sawaidi, assistant Government counsellor in the Ministry of Justice. He will be in a position to furnish you with

as also with the views of the Iraq Government regarding a final settlement of such claims. If you are successful in reaching agreement with Ibn Saud with regard to

trans-frontier raiding across the Transjordan or Iraq frontier respectively or the question of the determination of a Transjordan-Nejd frontier, the decisions reached should be embodied in separate formal agreements to be signed by you and Ibn Saud.

Any such agreements, in so far as they concern Iraq, will require to be approved by the Iraqi Parliament. If they concern Transjordan, they will enter into force

Apart from these major questions, there are two other matters which

in Nejd. As regards the former question, I have to explain that in September 1922 Ibn Saud requested His Majesty's Government to undertake the

protection of Nejd interests in Syria. His Majesty's Government accepted this charge, and the French authorities, who were informed of Ibn Saud's

arrangement. Shortly afterwards, however, Ibn Saud was informed that the French authorities in Damascus, but, when notified His Majesty's Government

in Damascus, but, when notified His Majesty's Government. The present Nejd

importance locally, has shown himself on

more than one occasion impatient of the control of the British consul, and the French authorities have similarly evinced an increasing reluctance to accept the intervention of the British consul at Damascus in questions affecting Nejd interests. Matters recently came to a head, when, in April of this year, the British consul intervened. Ibn Saud was already officially represented in Syria, the French authorities were unable to recognise any right on the part of His Majesty's consular officers to assume the protection of Nejd interests in that country.

In order that His Majesty's Government may have the necessary information to enable them to decide what attitude to adopt towards this action on the part of the French authorities, you should seek a suitable occasion to ascertain and report to His Majesty's Government what is the precise function of the Nejd representative at Damascus and what are Ibn Saud's real wishes regarding the protection of his interests in Syria.

9. The second question—that of permanent or semi permanent British representation in Nejd—is one which has been engaging the attention of His Majesty's Government for some time. The present arrangement has not proved altogether satisfactory. Written communications between His Majesty's Government and Ibn Saud pass through the intermediary of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, but there is at present no representative of His Majesty's Government in personal touch with Ibn Saud, and the absence of such a representative has given rise in the past to various misunderstandings and disputes, very largely attributable to the fact that His Majesty's Government are frequently unaware of Ibn Saud's real wishes or intentions, since he is notably averse from committing himself in writing. His Majesty's Government feel that many of the disputes which have arisen in the past might have been avoided by prompt and frank discussion of the questions at issue had this been possible.

Various solutions of the difficulty have been considered. It has been suggested that the time has now come to station a permanent representative at Ibn Saud's

inseparable from prolonged residence at Riyadh and the dangerously isolated position which such an officer would occupy. Again, it has been suggested that a representative of Ibn Saud should be accepted in London or credited to King Faisal or the British High Commissioner at Bagdad, but, as Ibn Saud is known to be unwilling to place reliance upon the judgment or discretion of his subordinates, such an arrangement would be unlikely to achieve the desired result. Another suggestion which has been advanced is that arrangements should be made for periodical visits to be paid by a British officer to Ibn Saud. In the existing circumstances, this last

but as circumstances may alter in the near future (e.g., Ibn Saud may, as a result of his conquests in the Hedjaz, move his capital to some more readily accessible spot) His Majesty's Government would prefer to reserve their decision until conditions in Arabia become more stable. You should, however, encourage Ibn Saud to discuss this question frankly with you, and, without definitely committing His Majesty's Government to any of the above alternatives, you should endeavour to ascertain his wishes in the matter. You should point out to Ibn Saud that His Majesty's Govern-

ment is in touch with him, if circumstances render such a course practicable and both in discussing this matter with Ibn Saud and throughout your discussions with him you should make it clear that His Majesty's Government are anxious to be on cordial terms with His Highness and to co-operate with him wherever possible.

10. It is not improbable that during your conversations Ibn Saud will raise the question of his position in the Hedjaz, and will endeavour to obtain from you a statement of His Majesty's Government's policy, and, in particular, to learn what view His Majesty's Government take of the recent expansion of his territories and what are their wishes with regard to the future administration of the Hedjaz. If Ibn Saud questions you on these points, you should confine your reply to a statement that His Majesty's Government's only desire is for the speedy termination of the present hostilities and the re-establishment of peaceful conditions in the Hedjaz; their recent offer of mediation was made with this sole object in view, and they have learned with regret that Ibn Saud is at present unwilling to accept it. Their offer has, however, not been withdrawn, and it is still open to Ibn Saud, should he so desire, to avail himself of their good offices. But while hostilities continue His Majesty's Government have no alternative but to maintain an attitude of strict



neutrality. With regard to the ultimate régime to be set up in the Holy Cities and in the Hedjaz generally, you should point out that, beyond doing everything in their power to ensure that their Moslem subjects have free and safe access to the holy places, His Majesty's Government feel that they cannot properly intervene in a matter which is purely internal to the Hedjaz.

11. Ibn Saud may also represent that the terms of the treaty concluded with him in 1916, a copy of which is enclosed, are no longer appropriate, in view of the recent extension of his territories, and may suggest that this treaty should be replaced by a new one. You should inform him that, while hostilities are actually in progress, His Majesty's Government clearly cannot enter into negotiations for a new treaty, and that until peace is restored and stable conditions are established, His Majesty's Government would prefer to leave matters as they are.

12. Should Ibn Saud raise other questions which are not covered by these instructions, you should take note of what he has to say and report to His Majesty's Government, at the same time informing him that you are without instructions on these points, but that you will communicate his views to His Majesty's Government by whom they will be given every consideration.

13. I am to inform you that in accordance with your suggestion, the Palestine Government have agreed to place at your disposal the services of Mr. G. Antonius to act as your secretary, and have also agreed to attach a British stenographer to your staff. I am to inform you of your departure and the venue of the meeting. In the meantime I am to request that you will hold yourself in readiness to proceed to Jeddah at short notice.

I have, &c

R. V. VERNON

No. 144

Mr. Welland (for the Secretary of State) to Mr. Jordan (Jeddah)

(No. 61)

(Telegraphic)

Foreign Office, September 12, 1925

Y.O. R telegram No. 130 of 25th August. Propagandist pamphlet issued by Hedjaz Government.

It is undesirable that His Majesty's Government should in any way become entangled in the contest of propaganda now in progress between Nejd and the Hedjaz. In these circumstances it is preferable to abstain from lodging a protest.

E 5534 1780 91.

No. 1

Vice-Consul Jordan to Mr. Austen Chamberlain—(Received September 14)

(No. 81)

Sir,

Jeddah, August 26, 1925

I HAVE the honour to confirm my telegram No. 127 of the 20th August and to state that King Ali through his Minister for Foreign Affairs and afterwards personally has pressed me to refrain from giving refuge to and repatriating slaves during the present state of affairs in the Hedjaz.

The King expresses himself as being entirely in favour of the abolition of slavery but points out that such a step in a country where slavery has been the custom for many centuries should be enforced gradually, and that owing to the privations that the population are at present supporting His Majesty is anxious to avoid anything further in that respect that might tend to precipitate a crisis.

I informed King Ali that I would refer the question to His Majesty's Government by telegram and that pending a reply I would accede to his request.

There is no doubt whatever that the majority of the Jeddah populace are in a very bad humour. The high cost of living, practically famine prices existing in comparison with the prices in Mecca, insufficiency of water, and forced contributions in money and in kind for the continuation of what is considered to be a losing war is making them very discontented, and on top of all this for their runaway slaves,

which represent so much capital, to be protected and repatriated by a foreign Power.

I pointed out to His Majesty that with few exceptions all slaves protected and repatriated to date were British subjects, and that if they were consequently entitled to protection at the hands of this agency. His Majesty quite agreed, and promised as soon as the situation improved to do his utmost to abolish slavery in his domain.

The particular case which would appear to have brought about this state of affairs is that of a slave named Bilal a Sudanese, whose master, a certain Dakhil Allah, who is renowned for his ferocity and overbearing behaviour in Jeddah, endeavoured to prevent the embarkation of Bilal at the quay. This, owing to the prompt action of Mr. Lambie employed at this agency, was prevented, and Dakhil Allah collected certain other slave-owners whose slaves had been repatriated by this agency and forming a deputation waited upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

What was said during the interview I do not know, but whilst the deputation was still in his room Sheikh Fuad sent me a note marked urgent, in which such words as "my position and even my life is in danger," "I am besieged on all sides," &c. occur.

The master of Bilal, as a last resort, charged him with the theft of a box of jewellery, and insisted on the man being brought before the court. In face of this accusation I had no alternative but to bring back Bilal from the ship to this agency and claiming capitulatory rights on his behalf, I informed the Minister for Foreign Affairs that I was prepared to hear the case as soon as convenient to them. Eleven days having passed and no result, I finally sent him to the Sudan on the 25th August.

It is becoming the custom for slave owners to charge their runaway slaves with theft, thereby hoping to get a decision of the Shara court in their favour and the slave detained in custody. As decisions of the Shara courts are for a consideration I suspect, always in favour of the master, I see no alternative but to claim capitulatory rights for Sudanese and Takruri slaves, and I shall be glad to receive confirmation of my action in this respect.

The case of the Abyssinians is more difficult. The most serious aspect of the whole slave question is the apathy with which it is treated by my colleagues, who with the exception of the Netherlands consul, take little or no interest in the slave question whatever. For the repatriation of Abyssinian slaves the Italian consul allows free passages on the Italian boats calling here and going to Massawa but will have nothing to do with them. They must be placed on board by a member of the staff of this agency and everything done to dissociate the Italian Government from being implicated in their release.

I have, &c

S. R. JORDAN

E 5535 2219 91

No. 146.

Vice-Consul Jordan to Mr. Austen Chamberlain—(Received September 14)

(No. 82. Confidential)

Jeddah, August 27, 1925.

I HAVE the honour to report that King Ali has requested me to inform you that negotiations have already been opened with a group of financiers who do not appear adverse to the proposal and/or the security offered.

King Ali is anxious to know if His Majesty's Government would consider favourably the raising of a loan of this amount in the United Kingdom.

He explained at length the security he was prepared to offer, which may be summarised as follows:

1. Customs and quarantine dues.
2. Oil fields at Dabba. Exploitation of.
3. Various other concessions, such as light.

The customs dues, owing to the war and bad administration, have fallen off considerably, but amount, I am informed locally, to about £25,000 per annum at present, but in a normal year are approximately £250,000 per annum.

The quarantine dues amount to about £90,000 per annum during an average

under proper control both customs and quarantine should yield considerably more

King Ali further states that he is prepared to submit both these administrations to British direction and control.

I pointed out that, unless hostilities ceased between the Hedjaz and Nejd, the concluded, and consequently the receipts from both these administrations would be negligible.

The King, however, stated that next season he intended to open the port of Jeddah to all pilgrims, and that Ibn Saud would be obliged to allow the pilgrims to pass, and as a result the customs and quarantine receipts would assume normal proportions. He further informed me that the Netherlands consul had signified his willingness to advise Government to allow Java pilgrims to come to Jeddah under these circumstances. I doubt the wisdom of such an action, as Ibn Saud would also most certainly demand payment of various dues from all pilgrims coming out of Jeddah in order to drive them to ports under his control, and the result would be double payment and the consequent aggravation of the chronic financial embarrassment of the great majority of pilgrims.

The oil fields at Dulha, he states, are rich and well protected, and are ready for immediate exploitation. It is pointed out that these fields were favourably reported upon by a certain Mr. Worth, who, after his examination of the place, was anxious to obtain a concession.

On the other hand, I believe that a certain Mr. Garwood, a Britisher, lost considerable money over a concession to exploit these oil fields some years ago.

The circumstances which have led the King to consider the present as a favourable moment to meet the idea of a foreign loan would appear to be the repulse of the Wahabias from Medina, where, after six days strenuous fighting they have been obliged to retire and also the arrival of six De Havilland aeroplanes and 500 high explosive and gas bombs in Jeddah.

The King has promised to let me have full particulars, together with names of the financial group with which he is in communication during the course of the next few days, and I shall not fail to communicate same to you immediately.

I venture to suggest that in view of the instability of the security offered, the state of hostilities between the Hedjaz and Nejd, and the storm of Indian disapproval that any act of British control, official or private, must with, that His Majesty's Government would be well advised to give no official sanction or approval to any financial venture in this country at present, though the danger of allowing foreign capitalists to get a footing in this country to our detriment and perhaps to their own also, is evident.

I have, &c  
S. R. JORDAN

E 5530 10 91

Vice-Consul Jordan to Mr. Austen Chamberlain — (Received September 14)

(No 24 Secret.)  
Sir,

Jeddah, August 29, 1925

1 HAVE the honour to enclose a report on the situation covering the period the 11th-29th August.

2 Copies of this despatch and of its enclosure are being sent to India, Egypt, Khartoum (through Port Sudan), Jerusalem, Bagdad, Beirut (for Damascus), Aden, Singapore, Buxare, Koweit, Bahrein and Muscat.

I have, &c  
S. R. JORDAN

Enclosure in No. 147

Report for the Period August 11-29, 1925

SECRET

THE military situation, though very critical at the beginning of the period for report, has recently shown slight signs of improvement.

This is due to (1) The repulse of the Wahabias at Medina, where they have been, according to report, attacking incessantly for six days, and having failed to capture the town have now retired to a distance of about three hours' march and guard the approaches to Medina on all sides. (2) The arrival of six aeroplanes with twelve machine guns, 120 cases of s.a.m., and about 500 high explosive and gas bombs in Jeddah. The people of Jeddah flock out each afternoon to inspect these machines.

The forces of Ibn Saud at Medina are reckoned at about 10,000. Despite their numbers, the small garrison at Medina, owing to the excellent fortifications erected by the Turks during the Great War and the huge supply of guns and ammunition left there by them, have been able to stave off the incessant attacks of the Wahabias, which lasted without a break for six days.

The Wahabias succeeded in advancing right up to the walls of the town in several places, but could not gain an entry, and eventually retired on three positions some distance outside Medina and commanding the approaches to the town. All the gardens outside the walls have been destroyed and the date palms cut down by the garrison itself as they afforded cover to the attacking forces. I believe the food stores in the city are very low. The various tribes on the way and none of these supplies found their way into Medina. The Harb tribe in the whole district have gone over to Ibn Saud, and a siege of Medina would appear to be a more certain and less costly, though perhaps longer, way of securing the submission of the town. During the hostilities it is rumoured, and is practically certain, that the forces of Ibn Saud destroyed the tomb of Syedna Hamza, the Prophet's uncle and one of the first martyrs of Islam, and also that the Kubba over the Prophet's tomb was struck by bullets, which is very probable, as the Wahabi advance brought them within 40 yards of the Kubba.

I am at the first opportunity transmitting a telegram to Ibn Saud at the request of the Government of India, from the Modern members of the Indian Legislative Assembly asking for information and details on these reports.

The aeroplanes, of which there are six, arrived in the German steamship "R. C. Rickmers," by way of the Suez Canal, though it was reported in town that she was coming from the south around the Cape of Good Hope to avoid possible detention in Egypt. The planes were supplied by the Steffen and Heymann group in Berlin, and are supposed to have been paid for by the ex King Hussein during Sultan's visit to him at Akaba.

The planes are British planes, De Havilland 9, mounted with two machine guns and fitted with a Siddleley Puma engine. The planes are second hand, but the engines are new. I am endeavouring to obtain the numbers of both planes and engines in order to facilitate the tracing of their peregrinations since they left the British factory.

The planes, which are of the 25 H type, are of two kinds: Ordinary percussion high explosive and gas. The gas is referred to locally as an acid which vaporises on explosion and creates a choking sensation and causes the body to swell before death sets in. I cannot guarantee the truth of this latter statement. The machine guns are of the Lewis type, and I believe that two of the machines are fitted with the synchronising equipment.

On the 12th instant, 475 demobilised Palestinians were sent to Akaba in the local steamship "Tawil." I have heard rumours of trouble or illness on board, and that forty were disembarked at Yambo, but I have not been able to verify this information.

There are constant desertions from the local forces in Jeddah since it has been learned that the Harb tribes have gone over to Ibn Saud, and the defences are manned perhaps 500 Syrians and Palestinians. There are also, it appears, some fifty Druses, who are anxious to return to their own country to help against the French in the revolt in Syria. Two Germans also have obtained permission to return to Germany and are leaving at once.

The soldiers and officers are still some four months behind in their pay, and



just before the King paid them one month's wages, about the 20th instant, the situation was critical, and it was openly stated that the soldiers would sack the town unless paid. This danger has now passed, but the financial situation is, if anything, more precarious than when I last reported.

shows peculiar tastes on the part of that gentleman. He is a good linguist and speaks Arabic, ~~French~~ and is a well-to-do French. English and Russian. I refused him a visa for Aden and British Somaliland.





It gives most of the information in my letter to the committee and with additional points. It says that the speaker said that he had asked the delegates from Moslem countries to form a commission to study the Christian delegates that commission should proceed to the Holy Land and establish a government under control of all Moslem countries (Repeated to Jeddah.)

Medina is still besieged by Nejd forces, and Prophet's tomb is untouched. Syed Ina [I Ham] za's tomb, according to [ ] whose [ ] is [ ] is also [ ] in the [ ].  
(Reprinted to Palestine, No. 104 M)

[illegible]

chief kadi left Jeddah. King Ali begged him to make peace at any price and gave him *carte blanche* as to conditions to be imposed.

14 The result of Hedjaz propaganda in India and Persia is having a marked effect and seems to have been swallowed wholly by the more ignorant Moslem communities in both those countries. Many telegrams from various guilds in Persia and India have been addressed to Ibn Saud at Jeddah in the most scurrilous terms. These only fall into the hands of the local people who are naturally highly elated. One such signed by Jamat Al Shikh of B... reads as follows:-

"Mass meeting consisting of nearly 100,000 Moslems held on Friday 28th August, resolved to express its anger, hatred, vehemence and contempt towards Ibn Saud and his wild army and those Indian Moslem devotees of Najdis who have hitherto, owing to their personal motives, stubbornness, and against public opinion, supported Najdis, and consider them responsible for the present Moslem discontent and the violation of the sacred objects, and advises those fools to leave imprudent course and save religion." &c

Another from Bombay, signed by Sardar Suleiman Cassim Mitha, president of something not stated, reads:-

"Mass meeting of Bombay Moslems held in Masjidjame on the 25th August. It was resolved to consider Ibn Saud a treacherous attacks on Medina and the bombardment of the Prophet's and Syedna Hamza's tombs, and his wild followers, deserving of the whole Moslem hatred and curses for treacherous acts." &c

Also the Guild of Grocers in Tehran wired to the local Government offering troops, if necessary, to defend the Wahabi "dogs."

15. I have been informed by a confidential source that Ibn Saud has been in Medina or having touched the Kuba over the Prophet's tomb. In all his communications, however, he makes no mention of the Tomb of Hamaz, and it appears to me that it may be considered as destroyed. Owing to the great success attending the Hedjaz propaganda, Ibn Saud has now applied for permission for several of his followers to proceed to India to "expound the tenets of the Wahabi faith and contradict the lying propaganda spread by his enemies, who endeavour to gain by words what they cannot by arms." He is also endeavouring to purchase a powerful wireless installation for propaganda purposes.

Similar assurances as to the Prophet's tomb have been given to the King of Egypt by Ibn Saud in a message sent through the local Egyptian consul.

16. The local situation has been calmed by the return of one Tawil, the Director of Customs, who has been mentioned in my predecessor's reports, and of Sherif Mohsen, also well known.

Tawil celebrated his return by causing dissension in the Government and eventually informed the King that Ahmed Saggoff, the Prime Minister would have to resign or he would go away. The dispute at one stage became very acute, and there were rumours of public demonstrations in favour of one or the other. Eventually the King persuaded them to join hands and forces to fight the common enemy, and once more great threats ended in nothing.

17. The condenser on which the local people depend for their water supply has been handed over to a private company of local people to exploit. The conditions are that they should bear all expenses and supply the Government with 30 tons of water per day free. This will leave approximately 20 tons for sale by the exploiters and will provide them with a handsome profit.

Just prior to the handing over of the plant, the Government, having no money to buy coal, were breaking up and burning sambuks to keep the engines working. The present company state that they have a supply of coal and will be able to work the condenser.

18. The condenser on which the local people depend for their water supply has been handed over to a private company of local people to exploit. The conditions are that they should bear all expenses and supply the Government with 30 tons of water per day free. This will leave approximately 20 tons for sale by the exploiters and will provide them with a handsome profit.

19. The first anniversary of the accession of King Ali was celebrated on the 23rd September, and the consular corps was received at the palace at 10 A.M. In the evening there was a display of fireworks.

20. Seven slaves have been repatriated during the period under report. Six by the courtesy of the Senior Naval Officer Red Sea Patrol, and one woman by the Khedivial Steamship Company.

21. Since writing the above I am informed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs that the Wahabi forces must be covered in places with drift sand, and (2) it is hardly possible that the Wahabi forces will not preclude the possibility of trains entering the town by taking up a portion of the line as they did in their last attack.

22. The last Khedivial boat from that port evacuated 2 cannon, 38 cases shells and 10 cases a.s.s., together with 30 troops.

23. Some 100 or so cavalrmen yesterday refused to serve and are in barracks awaiting the arrival of money to pay their salaries, when they will return to Syria.

24. The Egyptian delegation has returned from Mecca and are leaving for Egypt by the Khedivial boat on the 30th September.

25. During the month of August a British consular mission visited the Italian consul, who has recently returned from short leave in Eritrea. It is rumoured that negotiations for the supply of munitions and a small loan are in progress, but I have no confirmation to date.

26. In connection with the arrival of Sir Gilbert Clayton, who is expected shortly to negotiate with Ibn Saud on outstanding questions between Great Britain and Nejd.

S B JORDAN

No. 157

Acting British Agent, Jeddah, to Mr Austen Chamberlain - (Received October 21)

(No 148)

(Telegraphic)

Jeddah, October 21, 1925

PERSIAN delegation left for Mecca this morning. Head of delegation... of peace. He added that if Ibn Saud would not accept reasonable conditions Persia and Egypt would request Great Britain to enforce peace in Arabian Peninsula. Head of the delegation is Persian Minister at Cairo.

(E 6539 12 91)

No. 158.

Acting Consul Jordan to Mr Austen Chamberlain. - (Received October 26.)

(No. 98.)

Sir,

Jeddah, October 6, 1925

I HAVE the honour to confirm my telegram No. 140 of to-day's date, relative to...

These goods arrived at Jeddah in the Khedivial steamship "Mansourah" on the 5th instant, and figured on the ship's manifest as being destined for Massawa via Port Sudan.

The shipment was accompanied by a certain M Gaston Panelli, of Rue Nubar Alexandria, who claims to be the owner of the goods.

On 10th October, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Shuikh Fuad, and the Director of Customs, Muhammad Tawil, met by King Ali, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Shuikh Fuad, and the Director of Customs, Muhammad Tawil.

He was too optimistic as to the paying capacity of the Hedjaz Government is instanced by the fact that he made enquiries from the master of the ship...

After protracted negotiations lasting some four hours Panelli accepted a personal guarantee from the King against his property in Egypt and two receipts from the... thereupon returned on board and requested the master to land the cargo in Jeddah.



Despite the fact that the goods were manifested to Massowa via Port Sudan, the master of the *Mansourah* company I was requested to accept instructions from Panelli as to the port of disembarkation, irrespective of the instructions conveyed in the ship's manifest.

The goods were disembarked and nominally placed in transit on one of the small quarantine islands just off Jeddah until the money against the guarantees was received, but actually the goods are in the hands of the Hedjaz Government.

M. Panelli left by the *Mansourah* and is, I believe, returning to Alexandria by train from Port Sudan, spending several days in Khartoum on the way.

As far as I can gather, the Egyptian Government were so keen to get rid of these goods, in view of the pending lawsuit, that they were not particular as to where they were landed so long as they were taken from Egypt and the Government thereby relieved of responsibility.

As a result I must remark on the apparent deplorable methods of the *Mansourah* Steamship Company, who, in order to accept them under an obvious false declaration as to destination in order to delude the Government's concern, and at the same time issued secret orders to the master of the vessel to accept orders from the owner, travelling as a passenger, in spite of the ship's papers. Such an action would appear to be a contravention of the Merchant Shipping Act and punishable as such, irrespective of the more serious charge of gun running to prohibited areas under article 6 of the Arms Traffic Act of 1912.

M. Gaston Panelli also received from the King concessions for the exploitation of all the forests in the Hedjaz and a concession to open an "issuing" bank, i.e., having authority to issue notes against funds.

These concessions were first secured by M. Panelli from the Hedjaz representative in Cairo, Abdul Malek, and were confirmed by King Ali during yesterday's negotiations. Their value, I consider, is nil.

A copy of this despatch is being sent to the Residency, Alexandria.

I have, &c

S R JORDAN

No 150

Mr Jordan to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 26.)

(Unnumbered)  
(Telegraphic)

Jeddah, October 26, 1925

MY telegram No. 147

Italian consul refuses to communicate to the local authorities the gist of the reply sent to him by the Hedjaz Government. However, to have intercepted reply sent to him by the Hedjaz Government, the Minister of Foreign Affairs informs me that it roughly conforms to some previous declarations as published in "Mokattam" and reported in Alexandria telegram No. 863.

Withdrawal of all members of the Sherref's family is his primary stipulation.

No 160

Sir W Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to Mr. Jordan (Jeddah)

(No 68)

(Telegraphic) R

Foreign Office, October 26, 1925

PLEASE communicate with Mr. Philby by such means as he is in your power, and inform him that report has reached His Majesty's Government that he is actively engaged in the Hedjaz. I find it hard to believe that he openly opposes His Majesty's Government, and that, coming from an ex-official, would be impossible to excuse.

You should also remind him of previous warning against proceeding to interior, which is applicable now as when originally given.

You should communicate with Sir G Clayton and warn him against Mr. Philby's activities. He will doubtless make it clear to Ibn Saud that Mr. Philby has no official status whatever, and that he has proceeded to Jeddah without authority and against wishes of His Majesty's Government.

No 161

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 28.)

(No 152)

(Telegraphic) R

Jeddah, October 28, 1925

IBN SAUD is concentrating fresh troops from Nejd between Mecca and Jeddah, and according to reports he intends attack on Jeddah soon after departure of Sir Gilbert Clayton.

I have been informed that Mr. Clayton is expected to be captured by the forces of Ibn Saud, and that the capture of the town is imminent.

No 162

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 29.)

(No 153)

(Telegraphic) R

Jeddah, October 29, 1925

PERSIAN delegation states that results of their mission have been entirely successful. The mission has secured them of all facilities for all Persian pilgrims, and permission for the rebuilding of tombs which have been destroyed and even offered assistance.

I understand that full report will be published.

(Sent to India and Cairo)

No 163

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 5.)

(No 154)

(Telegraphic) R

Jeddah, November 4, 1925

FOLLOWING from Sir G Clayton for Colonial Office, No. 20.—

Agreement with Ibn Saud regarding Transjordanian frontier was signed 2nd November. Frontier starts at intersection of meridian 30 with parallel 32, thence to intersection of meridian 37 with parallel 31 30, thence along meridian 37 to its intersection with parallel 31 25, thence to intersection of meridian 38 with parallel 30, thence along meridian 38 to its intersection with parallel 29 35.

You will observe that I was obliged to give Kaf to Nejd for reasons which will be explained in my report, but I have secured for Transjordan practically all grazing grounds west of Wadi Sirhan, including four wadis in dispute.

Ibn Saud has given undertaking to abstain from establishing a military centre in Wadi Sirhan, and to prevent by all means at his disposal any incursions into Transjordan. He also agrees to maintain constant communication between his representative in Wadi Sirhan and chief British representative, Amman.

Articles from Iraq Agreement which are suitable for application to Transjordan have also been inserted *mutatis mutandis* in Transjordanian Agreement.

(Repeated to Jerusalem.)

No. 164

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 5.)

(No. 155)

(Telegraphic.) R.

Jeddah, November 4, 1925

FOLLOWING from Sir G. Clayton for Colonial Office, No. 3 C.—

"Agreement with Ibn Saud regarding Irak frontier affairs on lines indicated in my instructions was signed on 1st November. Agreement includes all points agreed upon at Kuwait Conference, namely, punishment of raiding tribes and chiefs, abstention from direct correspondence with sheikhs, prohibition of forces from crossing frontier, of sheikhs from displaying flags. I have also provided for a tribunal consisting of equal number of Nejd and Irak members and neutral president agreed upon by both sides to sit for fixing responsibility and assessing damages resulting from future raids.

With regard to points about which no agreement was reached at Kuwait I have succeeded in obtaining Ibn Saud's assent to undertaking formulated by General Knox at Kuwait, by which both Irak and Nejd bind themselves to migration of tribes from one country to the other (High Commissioner's confidential despatch of 12th March, 1925, refers). I have also obtained Ibn Saud's assent to a clause whereby tribes called up for military service must take their families and flocks with them.

With regard to extradition, I resisted Ibn Saud's insistent demand and arranged that question of extradition of non political offenders should form subject of friendly negotiations between Irak and Nejd with a view to discussing an extradition treaty on lines usually adopted between neighbouring States.

"With regard to restitution of loot, I was precluded from arriving at an actual liquidation chiefly owing to fact that the Irak delegate was not in possession of the necessary details. Nevertheless, I have arranged that liquidation of claims should be undertaken by tribunal described above or similar tribunal, which should be called within six months of ratification of agreement and that decisions will be final."

(Sent to Bagdad.)

No. 165

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to High Commissioner, Palestine.—(Repeated to Foreign Office, Received November 5.)

(No. 158)

(Telegraphic.) R.

Jeddah, November 5, 1925

FOLLOWING from Sir G. Clayton—

I have been asked by Ibn Saud to request you to forward the following message in Arabic by messenger to Abdallah bin-Akil, Governor of Jauif—

An agreement has been concluded by which Karaya al Malh is to belong to Jauif. You should instruct all our tribes to remain absolutely quiet awaiting our detailed instructions.—IBN SAUD

(Repeated to Foreign Office for communication to Colonial Office.)

No. 166

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 6.)

(No. 159)

(Telegraphic.) R.

Jeddah, November 6, 1925

STEAMSHIP "Kenah" of Khedivial Mail Line, was fired upon by local forces on 4th November outside the port of Yambo, and prevented from entering. One passenger was wounded by wooden splinter.

Forces were situated to west of the town and some distance from walls, and were undoubtedly tribesmen under orders of Ibn Saud.

No. 167

Mr. Austen Chamberlain to Sir G. Lloyd (Cairo)

(No. 261)

(Telegraphic.) R.

Foreign Office, November 6, 1925.

YAMBO, 4th NOVEMBER 1925. No. 502. To Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Jeddah.

They have been fired upon by tribesmen in order that British pilgrims may be able to perform the pilgrimage in comfort and security. At the same time they see that the régime in the Hedjaz is a matter for the decision of Moslems alone and that they cannot themselves properly intervene in what is primarily a religious question.

Please repeat to Jeddah.

No. 168

Sir G. Lloyd to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 391)

(Telegraphic.) R.

Cairo, November 10, 1925

FOLLOWING sent to Jeddah, No. 80, to-day

Khedivial Mail Line report that steamship "Kenah" on approaching Yambo on 4th November was subjected to heavy rifle fire, that ship was struck and that captain and crew proceeded direct to Jeddah, omitting Yambo.

"Company desire information as to position at Yambo with a view to obviating further risk to their ships. I should be glad of a telegraphic reply."

No. 169

Mr. Jordan to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 160.)

(Telegraphic.) R.

Jeddah, November 10, 1925.

YAMBO, 4th NOVEMBER 1925. No. 502. To Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Jeddah. They have been fired upon by tribesmen in order that British pilgrims may be able to perform the pilgrimage in comfort and security. At the same time they see that the régime in the Hedjaz is a matter for the decision of Moslems alone and that they cannot themselves properly intervene in what is primarily a religious question.

(Sent to Cairo and Jerusalem.)

No. 170

Mr. Austen Chamberlain to Mr. Jordan (Jeddah)

(No. 80)

(Telegraphic.) R.

Foreign Office, November 10, 1925

OUR telegram No. 159 of 6th November: Firing by Wahabis upon the steamship "Kenah" at Yambo.

In view of the fact that the steamship "Kenah" was fired at at Yambo on 4th November, and that the Wahabis are known to be in the neighbourhood of Yambo, it is requested that you should express the hope that there will be no recurrence of this incident.



No 171

Acting Agent, Jeddah to Sir G. Lloyd.—(Repeated to Foreign Office; Received November 12)

(No 161)

Telegraphic.) R.

Jeddah, November 12 1925

I am informed by local authorities that Wahabis have been driven back from Yammbo. The steamship "Borulos" should have called there 10th November. It is probable that the Wahabis have been driven back from Yammbo.

No 172

Acting Agent, Jeddah to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 15)

(No 162)

Telegraphic.) R.

Jeddah, November 13 1925

I have been informed by local authorities that the Wahabis have been driven back from Yammbo. The steamship "Borulos" should have called there 10th November. It is probable that the Wahabis have been driven back from Yammbo. Probable destination is Lath, as Ibn Saud informed him he would see him after the capture of Lath.

(E 7058 10 91)

No 173

Acting Consul Jordan to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 17)

No. 102. Secret)

Sir,

Jeddah, October 20, 1925

1. I HAVE the honour to enclose a report on the situation covering the period 29th September to 29th October.

2. Copies of this despatch and of its enclosure are being sent to India, Egypt, Khartoum (through Port Sudan), Jerusalem, Baghdad, Beirut (for Damascus), Aden, Singapore, Bushire, Kuwait, Haifa and Muskat.

I have, &c

S. R. JORDAN

Enclosure in No.

Report for the Period September 29-October 29, 1925.

(Secret)

WITH the exception of the Wahabi attacks on Yambo, no events of any importance have occurred during the period.

2. The situation at Jeddah has, except for internecine strife, been quiet, hardly a shot being fired by either side. Bombing operations continue, but since the arrival of the British and French forces at Jeddah the Wahabi Government have ceased bombing in that direction and would appear to be concentrating on Balagh, which is Ibn Saud's chief supply port.

3. The German ammunition and rifles held up for so long by the Egyptian authorities at Mecca have now been paid for and stored in Jeddah. A quantity of 200 cases of ammunition and 1,000 rifles, has now been paid for and stored in Jeddah.

4. The soldiers, and particularly the Beasoun, are selling the ammunition received for six months in arrears with their pay, and there seems to be but small hope of their receiving anything in the immediate future.

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5. The discontent among the troops has been increasing steadily. Continually small parties desert to the Wahabis, and the Wahabis refuse to man the trenches. Also two military godowns full of arms and the proceeds distributed. Owing to the Wahabis the troops are practically powerless and endeavour to keep the troops in the trenches by the spreading of false rumours and fulsome promises which never materialise.

6. The Wahabis are discontented with Thabit Pasha, the commander-in-chief, and several of the Wahabis have been so far as to placard the town with proclamations to the effect that Thabit Pasha, Sheikh Fuad, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Ahmed Saggaf, for a short time Prime Minister but lately private secretary and chief adviser to the King, should be shot for treason or complicity. Several arrests were made, but again the Government were too weak or pusillanimous to take strong action and on the appearance of a second declaration the arrested persons were released.

7. The Palestinians still engaged are continually applying to me for repatriation, which is refused on the instructions of the Palestine Government. But the local Government have now agreed to send such as wish to return to Palestine to Akaba in one of the smaller ships of the Hedjaz fleet.

8. From rumours the situation at Medina would again appear to be critical. The King is supposed to have received from Abdul Muid, commander of the Medina forces, a telegram stating that he could not be expected to hold out much longer as food was short and discontent was rife. The population of Medina, according to Indian pilgrims who were there as late as the 1st October, would be leaving the town and living under the protection of the Wahabis in the country round about Medina where they can obtain supplies from the desert.

9. Three trains referred to in my last report have been sent to Medina. The first train, which was sent on the 1st October, was composed of a locomotive, a passenger car, and a goods car. The second train, which was sent on the 2nd October, was composed of a locomotive, a passenger car, and a goods car. The third train, which was sent on the 3rd October, was composed of a locomotive, a passenger car, and a goods car.

10. At Yambo the Wahabis have been attacking the British and French forces but although they advanced right up to the British and French lines they were not able to penetrate. The casualties were not great on either side, and the popular belief that the desert Arab is a wonderful fighter and absolutely fearless would appear to be badly shaken by the events which have occurred during the present hostilities between the Nejd and Hedjaz.

11. Wajh, which, in my last report I stated was supposed to have fallen, is still holding out and the Wahabis do not appear to be very concerned about it, as there is but a small garrison, incapable of any offensive action, in the town.

12. The local Government at one time during the month seriously thought of capturing the Wahabis, but the Wahabis are too numerous and too well armed. The Wahabis are now in a position to attack the town, but when the Wahabis are in a position to attack the town, the Wahabis are in a position to attack the town. The Wahabis are now in a position to attack the town, but when the Wahabis are in a position to attack the town, the Wahabis are in a position to attack the town.

13. It is now quite certain that Ibn Saud intends to make a determined effort to capture Jeddah soon after the conference at Bahra is completed, and to this effect troops have been arriving from Jeddah to large numbers of people arriving in Jeddah from Mecca state that six fresh "bairaks" (standards) are now on the Jeddah Mecca road. Thus, with the three "bairaks" which have been investing Jeddah for months, would probably bring the attacking force up to about 3,000-3,500 men.

14. More are stated to be arriving around Mecca daily, and Mecca people speak confidently of success in the near future. Eight guns are also supposed to be in position to bombard Jeddah when required.

15. The financial situation is becoming more impossible as time goes on. During the month the Government have received no money from the banks, and that from Savyid Saggaf, or Singapore. A draft for 20,000 from the banks was also received but to date has not been met by the banks concerned. This no doubt will be remedied in the near future. Against this the Government have had to pay for the munitions from Egypt from their smaller reserves. No money whatever has been paid to the forces.

S. R. JORDAN<sup>1</sup>

No. 74

*Sunday, October*

I have, &c.  
S. R. JORDAN



No. 175

Mr. Austen Chamberlain to Lord Lloyd (Cairo)

(No. 279)

(Telegraphic)

Foreign Office, November 18, 1925

FOLLOWING for Sir G. Clayton from Secretary of State for Colonies:—

"You will have seen from my earlier message that I approve of your mission to Yemen. It has occurred to me that you might perhaps be willing during your stay in the Middle East to undertake another negotiation, for which I am sure you are well qualified. I am thinking of the negotiations for the restoration of the Imamate in Yemen. For various reasons, among which the most important was the temporary occupation of Hodeidah by the Idriisi, these negotiations have not yet come to a successful issue. The British Government should be sent to Sanaa in order to clear up the few outstanding points. The present position is that he is actively, if not openly, encouraging his followers to encroach upon the Aden Protectorate, and to be taken in support of the protectorate tribes. This action has not proved entirely successful, and His Majesty's Government are anxious to use every effort to establish permanent conditions in the hinterland of Aden without recourse to armed force. They therefore desire to accede to the Imam's request and to send an envoy to Sanaa. It is clearly desirable that the envoy should proceed with the least possible delay, in order that further complications on the protectorate frontier may be avoided. If you would agree to extend your period of employment under the Colonial Office for this purpose you might proceed by sea to Aden from Iraq after completing your duties in the latter country. The British Government at Baghdad, and the Resident, Aden, to whom this telegram is being repeated, would in the meanwhile, be able to make the necessary arrangements for your journey to Sanaa and your reception by the Imam. I should explain that proposed mission has support of Resident, Aden, who has asked His Majesty's Government to nominate officer for purpose, as no local political officer can be spared. If you accept, full instructions will be sent to you in due course."

Please repeat to Aden

No. 176

Acting Agent Jeddah, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain —(Received November 20)

(No. 163)

(Telegraphic) R

Jeddah, November 19, 1925

ARABIAN tribal troops manning Jeddah defences broke into open revolt on 17th November and representatives of each section demonstrated before King's palace. The King, Ali, pacified them by promising them their arrears of pay or a portion of same within forty-eight hours. Later, in consultation with the soldiers, delay was increased to ten days.

This morning, following the delay, the troops also revolted and only consented to man trenches on King's assurance of payment of arrears before 23rd November, or repatriation. Discipline no longer exists in the army and whether Ali and officers will be able to reassert their authority or not is for the present uncertain.

(Sent to Cairo and Jerusalem)

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No. 177

Lord Lloyd to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 20.)

(No. 408)

(Telegraphic)

Cairo, November 20, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 279

Following for Secretary of State for Colonies from Sir G. Clayton:—

Ready to undertake mission to Yemen. Should have preferred to discuss instructions on present situation and requirements in London, but as time apparently does not permit will proceed from Baghdad by sea via Haifa to Aden. Presume full instructions and necessary information will be sent direct to Aden together with credentials, which were of great use in recent negotiations.

Request urgently services of Antonius as secretary. He was largely instrumental in successful result with Ibn Saud.

May Palestine Government be authorised to advance me up to £1,500. I can then liquidate expenses up to date and have sufficient balance in hand.

I leave for Jerusalem 22nd November, and thence for Baghdad.

20th November

Please inform my wife of my movements.

I acknowledge gratefully receipt of your telegram of 16th November.

(Repeated to Aden.)

No. 178

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Government of India (Foreign Department).—(Repeated to Foreign Office; Received November 21)

(No. 165)

(Telegraphic) R.

Jeddah, November 20, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 1515S.

Fall of Medina is rumoured since the 20th but local Government has issued a démenti. Nevertheless, the situation there would appear to be critical, and if the town has not capitulated it is not expected that it can hold out much longer. Ibn Saud's son actually left Mecca with chosen troops to receive submission on 9th November, but I have no confirmation of actual surrendering of the garrison to date.

(Sent to Cairo, Jerusalem and Foreign Office with reference to my telegram No. 164)

No. 179

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain —(Received November 20)

(No. 166)

(Telegraphic) R.

Jeddah, November 20, 1925

MY telegram No. 163

Further revolt of Palestinian and Syrian troops occurred this morning. They barricaded themselves in large mosque, and refused to leave as a protest against non-payment of wages, &c. Mosque was surrounded by King's bodyguard and other troops.

In order to prevent disorder, and in view of soldiers' legitimate grievance, my action being taken against them, and myself protested. Ali has promised to repatriate remaining Palestinian and Syrian troops in 10 days. Despatch follows.

(Repeated to Cairo and Jerusalem)

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No. 180.

Acting Consul Jordan to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 30.)

(No. 105.)  
Sir,

Jeddah, November 12, 1925.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a copy of the declaration as to the future control of the Hedjaz territories made by Ibn Saud, Sultan of Nejd, and published in the "Umm-al-Kura," the only paper appearing in Mecca, on the 6th November (19th Rabi-ul-Thani, 1344).

2. Copies of this despatch and of its enclosure are being sent to India, Egypt, Jerusalem, Bagdad, Beirut, Aden and Khartoum.

I have, &c.  
S. R. JORDAN

Enclosure in No. 180.

Declaration published in "Umm-al-Kura" No. 45, dated 19th Rabi-ul-Thani, 1344,  
(November 6, 1925.)

(Translation.)

IN HIS HIGHNESS the Sultan's decree, which states that the Hedjaz territories in the hands of the people in co-operation with the Islamic world, we could not see that His Highness diverted from this path since his forces were on the outskirts of the Hedjaz until he occupied the greater number of the towns of the Hedjaz. The more he gains footing in the Hedjaz the more his aims are made clear to the people; thus such desires will be developed to obtain a practical aspect.

Having seen the anxiety of the Moslems as to the result of the war and the fate of the country, His Highness the Sultan decided to make known to all the world his aims and intentions towards the Hedjaz. The following is an extract from letters which His Highness has sent to His Majesty the King of Egypt, His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan, the Persian and Irak Governments, the Khilafat Committee, &c. :—

"From Abdul Aziz-bin-Abdul Rahman-al-Feisal-al-Saud to Ahlul Hadith and Ulama Committee of India, El Majlis-el-Islami-el A'la of Palestine, Sheikh Badu-ul Din al Mohalith of Damascus, certain kings and princes of North Africa, &c. :—

"Salutations.

"I hope you are in the best of health, and I am glad to unite my endeavours to yours and to those who are acting for the welfare of Islam. I am quite confident that our united efforts will result in a pleasant future for all the Moslem nations.

"I am not among the lovers of war and its evils. Nothing is more to me than peace and tranquility, calmness and prosperity and to be devoted to reform. But in consequence the Steris have completely taken possession of the Hedjaz and to wage war for the last fifteen years for no other reason than the greed for what we are in possession of. They blocked our way to the path of God and 'Al Masjid-ul-Haram, which is a sacred place, and they have taken possession of it. They defiled 'Al Batt-ul-tahir' committing all vices that no Moslem can bear.

"We have thus declared 'Al Jihad' to purify the sacred places and the whole of the Holy Land from this family who blocked the way that leads to an understanding good impressions by committing such evils.

"I, in the name of God, do not intend to spread my rule over the Hedjaz nor to annex it, but the Hedjaz is a trust in my hands until the time comes when the people of the Hedjaz can choose their ruler from among themselves, who will be dependent to the Islamic World under the superintendence of Moslem nations who showed considerable zeal in that affair such as the Indians and some others.

"The principle which we have declared to the Moslem world and which we are still fighting for can be summarised as follows :—

"1. The Hedjaz is for the Hedjazis from the Government point of view, but for all the Moslem world in respect of their rights in the country.

2. Polling for the election of the Governor of the Hedjaz will be carried out under the superintendence of the Moslem world at a time which will be fixed later. We shall then hand over the trust which is in our hands to that Governor on the following terms :—

"(1.) That the principal law for all the people should be the Islamic law.

"(2.) That the Hedjaz Government should be independent in itself, but should not declare war. Measures that would lead to the above should be observed.

"(3.) That the Hedjaz Government should not conclude political agreements with any Government whatever.

"(4.) That the Hedjaz Government should not conclude economic agreements with any non Moslem Power.

"(5.) That the Hedjaz boundaries, financial and judicial laws will be put under the charge of the delegates from the Moslem world, whose number will be proportional to the prestige of a country in the Moslem and Arab world. Members also should be taken from the Khilafat Committee, Ahlul Hadith Committee and Ulama Committee in India, and other parties who represent Moslems in countries where no Moslem Government exists."

No. 181.

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 1.)

(No. 107.)

(Telegraphic)

Jeddah, December 1, 1925

ALI has telegraphed to Hussein and Feisal informing them that if money is not received immediately he will be forced to leave Jeddah  
(Sent to Bagdad, Cairo, Palestine and India)

No. 182

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 109.)

(Telegraphic) R.

Jeddah, December 4, 1925.

MECCA has been bombed on several occasions within the last week by Hedjaz aeroplanes owned by non Moslem aviators.

Ibn Saud is protesting against double desecration of Haram in Mecca newspaper  
(Sent to India, Cairo, Jerusalem and Bagdad)

No. 183

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 170.)

(Telegraphic) R.

Jeddah, December 4, 1925.

LOCAL authorities on 2nd December forced by menaces an Indian merchant representing a Syrian firm to sign a telegram addressed to the Agent of firm in Medina instructing him to pay over to garrison commander £500 gold which he had received in Jeddah. Money has not been paid to Indian, who is now responsible for this sum to his principals.

I propose to send a messenger post to the Agent of firm and if payment is not made I may make arrangements to instruct Red Sea sloops to seize a Hedjaz Government ship as security.

You will realise necessity for putting an end to this form of robbery on the part of local authorities, who are penniless.

[14003]



Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 5.)

(No. 171.)  
(Telegraphic.) R

Jeddah, December 5, 1925

FOREIGN consuls at Jeddah last evening jointly informed King Ali that their respective Governments would hold him personally responsible for loss or damage to life or property caused to their respective nationals as a result of the bombing of Mecca.

Ali promised to take all possible precautions to safeguard foreign subjects  
(Sent to India and Cairo.)

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No. 184

Vice-Consul Jordan to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 7.)

(No. 108.)

Sir,

Jeddah, November 19, 1925.

WITH reference to Foreign Office telegram No. 69 of the 10th instant, I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of my letter to Ibn Saud, together with a translation of his reply to mine.

Other than the letters of which copies were forwarded under cover of my despatch No. 104 of the 10th November, the local agent of the Khedivial Mail Line has taken no further action.

A copy of this letter and of its enclosures is being sent to the Residency, Cairo.

I have, &c.  
S. R. JORDAN

Enclosure 1 in No. 185

Copy of Letter from the Acting British Agent and Consul, Jeddah, to Ibn Saud, dated November 12, 1925.

(After respects.)

I AM directed by His Majesty's Government to inform your Highness that they learn with regret that the steamship "Kenah" of the Khedivial Mail Line, flying the British flag, was fired upon by certain of your Highness's forces whilst endeavouring to enter the port of Yambu on the 4th instant, and that one passenger was wounded and a boat killed by the rifle fire.

His Majesty's Government formally protest against this action on the part of the investing forces and express the hope that there will be no recurrence of this incident.

Compliments

Enclosure 2 in No. 185

Translation of Letter from Ibn Saud to the Acting British Agent and Consul, Jeddah, dated 1st Jamad ul Awwal, 1344 (November 18, 1925)

(After respects.)

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 12th November, 1925. I regret that such incident has happened, especially to a ship under the flag of our friend Britain.

Be sure that our besieging troops are quite ignorant of this. Strict orders were issued to the officer in charge not to repeat such a mistake.

With respects.

Sir W. Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to Mr. Jordan (Jeddah)

(No. 72.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, December 8, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 170 of 4th December. Threat to British Indian merchant. As the money will have been paid in Medina from funds belonging to the Syrian firm, it will be well to act in concert with the French consul unless there are local objections of which I am unaware.

To seize ship in manner proposed is most unusual procedure and can hardly be defended until the demand for repayment has been made without success. On the other hand, I realise that unusual circumstances require unusual methods.

While, then, it is desirable to avoid, if possible, actual seizure of ship, you may inform Hedjaz Government that you are not at all disposed to suggest in penultimate paragraph of your telegram if satisfaction is not forthcoming. You will, however, understand that actual seizure should only be made if all other steps fail.

No. 187

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 10.)

(No. 180.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Jeddah, December 10, 1925

IN view of situation at Jeddah and rumours of capitulation of Medina, His Majesty's Government might envisage possibility of Ali requesting permission to proceed to Cyprus, ~~though it is not known whether he intends to go to Yemen (vide second paragraph of my despatch No. 103), with royal slaves and certain chosen Arab troops numbering in all about 200, despite advice to place himself at disposal of British Government given by Persian consul general lately returned from Medina the local Governor and other influential people.~~

Should he proceed to Yemen it would appear seriously to prejudice possibility of ~~any further action being taken in the event of a successful outcome of the negotiations.~~

Ali is well liked in Syria and Transjordan and may be useful to His Majesty's Government in the future.

The information contained in paragraph 13 of my report under cover of my despatch No. 112 is confirmed.

No. 188

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 11.)—

(No. 182.)  
(Telegraphic.) R

Jeddah, December 11, 1925.

MY telegram No. 170

Ibn Saud's forces entered Medina 5th December  
Jeddah will probably capitulate in a few days  
(Sent to India, Cairo and Jerusalem.)

No. 189

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 12.)

[Via H.M.S. "Cornflower"]

(No. 183.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Jeddah, December 11, 1925.

MY telegram No. 180

I am confidentially informed that Ali is afraid of appealing to His Majesty's Government for fear of refusal. He states that either he will load aeroplanes and machine guns and ammunition on board steamer and proceed to Yemen, or, if this

should not be practicable, he will destroy all possible to avoid it falling into Ibn Saud's hands. He states that it will take at least fifteen days for Ibn Saud to transfer guns, &c., from Medina, and is anxiously awaiting arrival of Indian delegation headed by Hari on 17th December, also result of mission to Egypt. Ali is unaware that Sheikh of Hedjaz and Harb troops, representing approximately three-quarters of total forces, last evening sent a messenger to Ibn Saud tendering their submission and asking for instructions.

Reply should arrive afternoon of 12th December

You will realise that a quantity of war material is being transferred to the Imam of Yemen. I would suggest that I may be instructed to give Ali to understand that His Majesty's Government would not be averse to his presence on British territory. I should also like instructions as to whether I may tacitly encourage destruction of war material should Ali seek protection.

Reply requested urgently

#### No. 190

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 15.)

[Via H.M.S. "Cornflower"]

(No. 186)

(Telegraphic) R

Jeddah, December 14, 1925

KING ALI begs that I, as His Britannic Majesty's representative, will act as intermediary between him and his people and Ibn Saud for immediate submission of Jeddah.

Such action on the part of His Majesty's Government can but add to British prestige in this country.

Ali places himself at the disposal of His Majesty's Government and may be allowed to reside at [Jordan, Palestine or Irak, if possible, and, if not, at any other place designated]

As situation is critical, may I have an urgent reply via Admiralty wireless to H.M.S. "Cornflower" here re mediation, and also regarding Ali's request if convenient?

(Sent to Jerusalem, Bagdad, India and Cairo.)

#### No. 191

Sir W. Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to Mr. Jordan (Jeddah)

No. 74.)

(Telegraphic) R

Foreign Office, December 15, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 186 of 14th December. Situation at Jeddah.

You may act as proposed as intermediary in the surrender of Jeddah.

It would be best for Ali to go to Cyprus in first instance, as it would give less provocation to Ibn Saud. There would probably be no difficulty about his reception there. We will, however, bear in mind his desire to live in Palestine or Irak, and will ascertain whether there is any local objection.

If necessary would it be feasible to grant asylum to Ali on board H.M.S. "Cornflower"?

(Replied to Cairo, No. 318.)

#### No. 192

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 16.)

[Via H.M.S. "Cornflower"]

(No. 186)

(Telegraphic) R

Jeddah, December 16, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 74.

Ali's attitude may be said to proceed to Palestine or Irak direct. He would appear to be in mortal fear of his father and does not wish to go to Cyprus even for a few days.

Ali can be granted asylum on board H.M.S. "Cornflower" if necessary. Respectfully suggest that one of His Majesty's ships be placed at Ali's disposal for transport to destination decided upon.

I hope to meet Ibn Saud to-morrow and to obtain a delay of five to seven days to enable Ali to leave before entry of former into Jeddah.

May all urgent communications be sent via Admiralty wireless and H.M.S. "Cornflower," please, owing to delay over local cable?

(Sent to India, Jerusalem, Bagdad and Cairo.)

#### No. 193

Sir W. Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to Mr. Jordan (Jeddah)

[By Admiralty Wireless to H.M.S. "Cornflower"]

No. 75

(Telegraphic) R

Foreign Office, December 17, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 186 of 16th December: Future place of residence for Eiam

Ali

You may inform Emir Ali that King Faisal will be glad to afford him asylum at Bagdad.

We are communicating with Admiralty regarding possibility of passage as far as possible of His Majesty's ships. A further telegram will be sent to you in

(Replied to Cairo, No. 319.)

#### No. 194

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 19.)

[Via H.M.S. "Clematis"]

(No. 188)

(Telegraphic) R

Jeddah, December 19, 1925

ALI officially abdicated this afternoon, and a Provisional Government has been established under local Governor.

Entry into Jeddah of Ibn Saud's forces has been provisionally fixed for Wednesday next.

(Sent to India, Jerusalem, Bagdad and Cairo.)

#### No. 195

Sir W. Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to Mr. Jordan (Jeddah)

[By Admiralty Wireless to H.M.S. "Clematis"]

(No. 78.)

(Telegraphic) R

Foreign Office, December 19, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 187 of 18th December: Departure of King Ali

Admiralty are issuing orders for H.M.S. "Clematis" to convey Ali direct to Aden. Accommodation is so limited that there will be room for only one attendant at the most.

Resident at Aden is being asked to arrange for reception of Ali and for his onward passage to Basra, for which it is regretted none of His Majesty's ships will be available.



*Consul, Damascus to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 21)*

(No. 41)

(Telegraph)

*Damascus, December 21, 1925*

My representative informs me that having received from the Sultan telegram notifying capture of Jeddah, he proposes to invite local authorities and consuls to reception in celebration of the event but asks advice on the subject.

I am replying that I cannot advise. If he gives the reception should I attend? Please telegraph instructions urgently as to attitude I should adopt.

E 7991 10 91

No. 197

*Vice-Consul Jordan to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 22)*

(No. 112. Secret.)

*Jeddah, November 27, 1925*

I HAVE the honour to enclose a report on the situation covering the period the 30th October to the 27th November.

2. The following telegrams were sent to Jeddah from Khartum (through Port Sudan), Jerusalem, Bagdad, Beirut (for Damascus), Aden, Singapore, Bushire, Kuwait, Bahrain and Muskat.

I have, &c  
S. R. JORDAN

Enclosure in No. 197

*Report for the Period October 30-November 27, 1925*

(Secret)

THE situation during the period under report has, in so far as the Hedjaz Government are concerned, become increasingly difficult and critical. What with the complete lack of money and the revolt of the fighting forces it would at first appear that the Government were doomed. But the forces involved are so small in comparison with the publicity given to the Nejd Hedjaz conflict throughout the Moslem world that apparently miraculous recoveries are possible, it being merely the question of the receipt of a few thousand pounds, and it would then at once appear possible for the war to be sustained indefinitely.

2. There is no doubt that Ibn Saud is concentrating forces in the vicinity of Jeddah with the declared intention of attacking the place. This attack was to have taken place some weeks back, but owing to the distractions around Medina it has been held up and is now promised for the end of the present moon. That is to say, about the 15th 20th December.

3. The Hedjaz Government have closed the Jeddah-Mecca road and nobody, with the exception of messengers or officials of foreign Powers, are allowed to pass through the lines. This precaution was necessary in order to prevent an exodus in mass of most of the residents, who wish to go to Mecca where living is infinitely cheaper than in Jeddah, and where also they would not be in constant fear of an attack and possible massacre.

4. In the Jeddah section actually there has been no hostile actions between the opposing forces. The aeroplanes daily bomb Wahabi camps situated in the Wadi Fatma, but from reports do little damage. On the 26th instant a plane was sent as far as Ta'if to ascertain the actual point of the concentration of some 8,000 troops which it is known that Ibn Saud is bringing from Nejd against Jeddah under his son Faisal.

5. Internally the situation could hardly be worse. On the 17th about 100 Bedouin soldiers representing the Yemen and Hedjaz tribes went to the King's palace and insisted on the release of one of their comrades who had been imprisoned for the murder of a slave, the property of Sherif Nayef bin Ali, and also demanded their arrears of pay for a year and a half for the winter. The King went down into the street and promised the men their money within forty-eight hours. The

soldier was released and an immediate issue of overcoats and blankets was also provided. But the Bedouins, who had been promised the money, did not arrive. It was not allowed by the soldiers to leave his motor car. When he greeted them with the usual greeting the soldiers replied telling him to hold his peace as they wanted none of his salaams. And when he endeavoured to leave the car one of the demonstrators slipped a clip of bullets into his rifle and prevented him. After the King's promises the soldiers expressed themselves as content and went off, firing into the air to show their joy. The whole affair was well organised, and only a few soldiers from each outpost came with the demonstrators, the remainder standing in their positions in case the Syrian and Palestinian troops should create trouble.

Seeing the success that attended the efforts of the Bedouin, the Palestinian and Syrian soldiers revolted two days later, and after a certain amount of indiscriminate firing all along the line as a sort of protest, the King went out and pacified them also with promises. Some days later the King called together the heads of the various parties and obtained fifteen days' grace for the fulfilment of his promises. This was allowed, and I now hear that last evening the King sent a number of sheep and rice and butter to the Bedouin troops, at the same time asking for a further five days' grace.

6. Discipline has entirely disappeared, and the trenches are manned more from an instinct of self preservation than from patriotism. Ibn Saud hearing of this internecine strife has during the night had proclamations placed all along the line, promising the men perfect safety and repatriation to their homes if they will desert to his lines. This, if it becomes general information, will, I imagine, mean the desertion of large parties, but as the proclamations were gathered early and collected by several officers it is improbable that the information will become general for some days. It must be remembered that perhaps not one of the Bedouin soldiers who man the outposts can read or write. The King has in the last day or so been endeavouring to fulfil that part of his promise relating to overcoats and blankets by distributing two gunny bags to each Bedouin soldier.

7. The situation at Medina would appear to be even more critical. On the 3rd instant a certain Mustafa Abdullah, a prominent merchant of Medina and a Government contractor, arrived at Mecca with a letter signed by many of the residents requesting Ibn Saud to come himself to receive the submission of the garrison and town. Ibn Saud was, I am informed, at first inclined to consider this as a ruse to detract his attention from Jeddah, but finally, on receipt of further news, sent his son Muhammad with 500 chosen troops to Medina on the 9th instant. This party has now been before Medina for some days and only conflicting and contradictory rumours are available, but from the fact that the local Government are still in wireless communication with Abdul Majid, the commander of the garrison, it would appear that the garrison has not yet surrendered.

8. Hundreds of refugees have left Medina and are either living in the country round about and obtaining food from the desert tribes or are making their way to Mecca on foot. They are supposed to be mostly in a pitiable condition, and the Egyptian Government have, I understand, sent £200 for their relief.

9. Yambo at the commencement of the period under report was surrounded and the Wahabi troops were entrenched right under the walls of the town, and the residents were, on account of flying bullets, mostly confined to their houses. Later the townsfolk assisting, the military made a sortie and dislodged the entrenched soldiers, who retired to the foothills some distance inland. It was just prior to this action that the steamship "Kenah" endeavoured to enter Yambo, but was prevented from so doing by rifle fire from the shore. One woman on board was slightly wounded by a flying splinter, and a sheep was killed by the rifle fire. The "Kenah" proceeded to Jeddah, but since the Wahabis have been driven back the Khedivial troops have been ordered to occupy it. A British ship, the "HMS" "HMS" "HMS" were wounded just outside Yambo at the beginning of the month whilst endeavouring to bomb the trenches from a low altitude. Neither wound was serious.

10. The financial situation is equally depressing. The draft for £6,000 mentioned in my last report as having been received from Hussein, was finally met by the banks, but the whole sum was paid to the merchants and not to the soldiers. Since then as far as I am aware no further moneys have been received, though there is a rumour of £4,000 coming from Faisal in a few days representing moneys raised on a mortgage of King Ali's properties in that country. No moneys have been paid to the soldiers during the period under report, and the troops are now seven months in arrears of pay. In some particular cases it is even more

## General

11. During the period under report, the military authorities endeavoured to force the local Hadramis to join the army and man the trenches. On a complaint being made to me by a number of them I protested to the King, who regretted the error and promised to see that there would be no repetition of same. Since then, I have had no further complaints.

12. The dispute between Tawil and Ahmed Saggof, as mentioned in my last report, has now ended in the defeat of Saggof, who is leaving Jeddah in a few days. Tawil now, though nominally only Director of Customs, is practically dictator to the King. I believe that the situation has more or less been forced on King Ali by considerations, because Tawil, having been the Director of Customs for some years, put aside certain economies during that period and has now promised to make every penny to the sacred cause of the Hedjaz.

13. A certain Raza Bey Saban received a visa from this agency on the 27th October to proceed to Cyprus and later to Syria. He did not leave Jeddah until about the 15th November, and was appointed to the rank of pasha just prior to his departure. It is rumoured locally that he was rewarded with the rank of pasha by the King, because he had signed by most of the leading Druse sheikhs requesting King Ali to accept the crown of the Druse Kingdom. I have been unable to get definite confirmation of this statement, but he must have done something to be appointed to the rank of pasha. He has, it is further rumoured, returned to Syria to make propaganda in favour of Ali's nomination to the throne, passing by Cyprus on his way in an endeavour to extort some money from Hussein for propaganda purposes.

14. A certain Zakki Bey of Bagdad has been appointed Finance Minister, and entered upon his duties recent.

15. The Dutch light cruiser "Java" arrived in Jeddah on the 7th of the month after calling at Rabigh, where the commander inspected the port and reported upon it in view of the pilgrimage. He is of the opinion that five or six ships only could lie at anchor, but that if buoys were placed and vessels moored fore and aft nearly double that number could be accommodated. I understand that the Dutch authorities are authorising the pilgrimage this year (pilgrim year), and that Rabigh will be the port of entry and exit unless the situation at Jeddah is cleared up before the arrival of the pilgrim ships.

16. The local agent of the Khedivial Mail Line informs me that the Turkish authorities have made arrangements with the Khedivial Line for the repatriation of 500 Turkish subjects from Hodeidah. Also, that the Italian Government have opened a hospital or dispensary at that port.

17. The Persian consul general from Damascus who, with the Persian Minister from Cairo, formed a delegation to the Hedjaz and Nejd, has now arrived at Medina to inspect the tombs and ascertain the truth of the rumoured acts of vandalism on the part of the Wahabias. The Persian Minister returned to Cairo after visiting Mecca.

18. Sir Gilbert Clayton concluded the treaty with Ibn Saud and left for Port Sudan on H.M.S. "Clematis" on the 5th instant.

19. Mr. Philby disappeared from Jeddah on the night of the 11th November, and is supposed to have left in a dhow for Lith from whence he hopes to proceed to somewhere in the vicinity of Mecca to meet Ibn Saud.

20. Twenty-two slaves have been repatriated during the period under report.

S. R. JORDAN

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No. 108

Mr. Jordan to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received December 22)

No. 113)

Sir,

Jeddah, November 29, 1925

I HAVE the honour to confirm my telegram of to-day's date, No. 166, stating that this morning a number of Palestinian and Syrian soldiers fully armed took refuge in the main mosque of Jeddah and refused to leave as a protest against being detained in the Hedjaz army against their will, and receiving neither pay, food nor clothing according to their respective contract stipulations.

2. As soon as it became general information the bazaars were closed and the King placed his own bodyguard, composed of armed slaves, and certain Arab troops at various vantage points around the mosque.

3. Fearing that the local authorities were going to attack the soldiers, who were protesting against their maltreatment in a peaceful manner, and thereby provoke disorder in the town, I consulted with my Italian colleague, who is temporarily charged with French interests, and we decided to protest against any offensive action being taken against the soldiers concerned, as we considered that to do so would be a violation of the principles of justice, and a legitimate protest against the behaviour of the Hedjaz Government in their respect.

4. We called upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs and His Majesty King Ali and whilst recognising the right of the Hedjaz Government to take any defensive action possible to stop internal disorders, such as looting, &c., we formally protested against the employment of force against the soldiers of our respective mandated territories, as such would provoke further disorders in the town, and the soldiers had, we contended, a legitimate grievance.

5. We further offered, in so far as our attitude of strict neutrality permitted, to lend our assistance in the maintenance of order and the protection of life and property.

6. His Majesty expressed his gratefulness for our offer and promised faithfully that he would take no offensive action against the troops concerned, and further stated that the whole of the remaining Palestinian and Syrian troops in the Hedjaz were being sent to their respective homes, and that these troops were being sent to their homes.

7. I venture to hope that you will approve the joint action taken, as in view of the two revolts reported in my telegram No. 103 of the 19th November and the general dissatisfaction of the troops and even the townsfolk themselves the temper of the people is very uncertain, and an error of judgment on the part of the local military authorities may lead to internal disorders of a serious nature with a consequent loss of life and property.

8. Seeing that this, the third revolt within fifteen days, may be considered to have reached its climax, and that the Wahabias, who are at the head of the Hedjaz and Yemen Arabs will consider it advisable to take similar action, and if they do the defences of Jeddah will be unmanned and the Wahabias free to walk in unopposed.

9. I shall not fail to keep you informed of any further events of interest as they may occur.

10. Copies of this despatch are being sent to India, Egypt and Palestine.

I have, &c.

S. R. JORDAN

No. 109

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (Received December 22)

(No. 191)

(Telegraphic) R

Jeddah, December 22, 1925

I PROCEEDED to Ibn Saud's camp with the head of the Provisional Government in Jeddah and commander in chief of forces yesterday. They officially surrendered, and I informed Ibn Saud that my work as intermediary was now finished. Ibn Saud replied before his full divan, thanking British Government for efforts put forward, and assured me in a most vehement and sincere manner that Nejd nation was bound to Great Britain by closest bonds of friendship and treaty relations, which they would always hold sacred, and that he would never have any relations with any other Power, big or small, as long as Great Britain respected her religion and honour.

Situation in Jeddah is quiet. Disarmament is completed. Troops of Ibn Saud enter to-morrow (Wednesday).

(Sent to India, Cairo, Jerusalem, Bagdad and Singapore)

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No. 200

Sir W. Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to Consul Smart (Damascus)

(No. 199)  
(Telegraphic)

Foreign Office, December 23, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 41 of 21st December; Nejdian celebration of capture of

It would be preferable not to attend and you will no doubt make suitable excuse for your absence

I approve your refusal to tender advice

No. 201

Sir W. Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to Mr. Jordan (Jeddah)

(No. 79)  
(Telegraphic) R.

Foreign Office, December 24, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 101 of 22nd December; Surrender of Jeddah

Your tactful handling of situation merits my warm approval

Ibn Saud's statement in second paragraph is welcome, and you are authorised to thank him for it

No. 202

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Sir Austen Chamberlain—(Received December 25.)

(No. 192)  
(Telegraphic) R.

Jeddah, December 24, 1925

IBN SAUD entered Jeddah yesterday (Wednesday) morning without incident. A reception attended by foreign representatives and notables was held. Situation perfectly quiet.

There would now appear to be no reason why pilgrimage should not take place as formerly.

(Sent to India, Cairo, Jerusalem, Bagdad, Aden, Khartum and Singapore)

No. 203

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Sir Austen Chamberlain—(Received December 29.)

(No. 193)  
(Telegraphic) R.

Jeddah, December 28, 1925

IBN SAUD wishes to appoint an official representative in Egypt, but first desires to ascertain His Majesty's Government's opinion in this respect.

Though he did not mention the fact, I imagine that he would like this representative to be assisted and advised by His Majesty's representative in Egypt as in Damascus.

(Sent to Cairo)

No. 204

Acting Agent, Jeddah, to Sir Austen Chamberlain—(Received December 29.)

(No. 194)  
(Telegraphic) R.

Jeddah, December 28, 1925

It is locally rumoured that Sir G. Clayton is proceeding on a mission to Yemen. Ibn Saud asks me whether this is a fact.

In view of friendly relations between His Majesty's Government and Ibn Saud I suggest that he should be kept informed through this agency of trend of negotiations.

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No. 205.

Acting Consul Jordan to Mr. Austen Chamberlain—(Received December 29.)

(No. 114.)

Sir,

Jeddah, November 30, 1925.

IN continuation of my letter No. 113 of the 29th November, referring to the revolt of the local Syrian and Palestinian troops, I have the honour to state that it was a very serious matter, and which was drawn up hurriedly to catch the mail, that the situation on the 29th instant was much more serious than was at first believed.

2. It appears that the forces of the King, who were of the forces defending Jeddah decided to combine and loot the town the following day. The King, hearing rumours to this effect at midnight on the 28th/29th, sent for the sheikhs of the Yemeni and Hedjaz Arabs and begged them to go at once and endeavour to disperse the troops from the town.

3. The sheikhs were apparently successful in their endeavours, but the Syrian and Palestinian soldiers nevertheless insisted upon obtaining some definite arrangement with the local authorities as to their payment and eventual repatriation. A number of representatives of the various sections entered the town and proceeded to the mosque, where they intended to remain until granted satisfaction, the remainder of the forces remaining at their posts in charge of the guns and machine guns to come to their assistance if they were maltreated or fired upon by the King's bodyguard and satellites.

4. Eventually, after protracted negotiations and the assurance of the King that they would receive their pay and be repatriated within seven days, the soldiers consented to leave the mosque and proceeded to the King's palace, where the representatives of the remainder of the Palestinian and Syrian forces, will be entertained as guests until their repatriation.

5. The above facts have been supplied to me by a responsible sheikh in charge of a large section of the forces and I have no reason to doubt their authenticity, and they would appear to more than justify the action taken by my Italian colleague and myself, as any offensive action against the representatives would have brought about common action on the part of the whole of the forces and led to the sack of the town.

6. Except in so far as tribal custom admits a certain authority on the part of the responsible sheikhs, all discipline has disappeared, and the Syrian and Palestinian troops refuse to serve any longer with the Hedjaz forces.

7. The Yemeni and Hedjaz troops, however, are content to go on fighting provided they are paid, and the whole question would appear to be one of money.

8. If Ali can obtain money, there is no reason why the defences of Jeddah should not be maintained. It is, however, a matter of some interest that Ibn Saud seems reluctant to attack Jeddah, or, indeed, any of the other garrisons still holding out against him, in a decisive manner, preferring apparently to await the final, and perhaps just as satisfactory, results obtainable by internecine strife and siege conditions.

9. Copies of this despatch are being sent to India, Egypt and Palestine.

I have, &c.

S. R. JORDAN, Vice-Consul

*Lord Lloyd to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 30)*

N 105.)

(Telegraphic) R.

*Cairo, December 30, 1925*

YOUR telegram No. 327. Ibn Saud's request to appoint representative in Egypt.

It would be convenient for discussion of pilgrimage and cognate questions if Ibn Saud were officially represented in Egypt, and I see no objection on other grounds. It is desirable that his representative should look to us rather than elsewhere for advice.

Appointment depending presumably on recognition of a Government. Useful for information if when and in what terms His Majesty's Government recognise Ibn Saud's authority in the Hedjaz.

Egyptian Government appear anxious to conform to decision of His Majesty's Government.

(Sent to Jeddah.)

# CHAPTER III.—PALESTINE.

E 4017, 214, 65]

No. 207

*Mr. Sterling to Mr. Oliphant.—(Received July 8.)*

*United States Embassy, London,*

*July 7, 1925*

Dear Oliphant,

HEREWITH the memorandum concerning the question of the imposition upon American nationals of the increased Palestine import duties which have not received the assent of the United States Government. You will recollect that, at our last meeting, I spoke of a recent instruction from my Government upon this subject. In particular, the imposition of the increased duties affecting a shipment of matches to Palestine by an American citizen, Mr. Elimiech Sachs. The enclosed memorandum is a summary of that instruction.

Yours, &c.

F. A. STERLING.

Enclosure in No. 207

Memorandum

THE American Embassy refers to the memorandum, dated the 4th March, 1925, forwarded to the Foreign Office, concerning the question of the jurisdiction of the Palestinian authorities over United States citizens pending the entrance into force of the Palestine Mandate Convention signed on the 3rd December, 1924, between the United States and Great Britain, and particularly to the last paragraph of the memorandum which reserves for further discussion the question of the imposition upon American nationals of the increased Palestine import duties which have not received the assent of the United States Government.

The imposition of the increased import duties has been the subject of a general protest made by the American consul at Jerusalem on the occasion of the announcement of the increased duties. The only specific case in which a formal protest has been made to the Palestine Government is, however, that of Elimiech Sachs, which was the subject of note dated the 16th September 1925, addressed by the American Ambassador to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. It is reported by the American consul at Jerusalem that apparently no objection has been raised by other American importers in Palestine to the payment of the increased duties affecting their importations. The duties affecting such importations are understood to have been increased by only 3 per cent. *ad valorem*, whereas the duties on matches have been increased by 11 per cent. *ad valorem* to P.T. 20 per gross boxes, not exceeding 10,000 matches, an increase approximately from P.T. 75 to P.T. 1,000 per shipping case of matches. The collection of duties under this ordinance was begun on the 16th August. Sometime previous to the promulgation of this ordinance (it is stated "in July") Mr. Elimiech Sachs, an American citizen, had ordered a quantity (350 shipping cases or 17,500 gross boxes) of matches. His shipment arrived in Palestine on the 18th August, and duty was assessed thereon in the amount of £E. 3,500 under the new tariff instead of £E. 180 under the old tariff. The difference, £E. 3,320, was equivalent to slightly over 15,000 dollars at the then prevailing rate of exchange. Mr. Sachs declined to pay the increased duty, and protested to the consul at Jerusalem. The consul addressed a formal protest to the Palestine Government, and informed the Department of State, which, through the Embassy at London, brought the matter to the attention of the British Foreign Office.

The pertinent facts in the case of Mr. Sachs are as follows:—

"On the 15th August, 1924, there was published in the "Official Gazette" of the Palestine Government the text of an ordinance, entitled "The Customs Duties Amendment Ordinance, 1924," providing for certain changes in the Palestine tariff. One of the changes thus set forth increased the duty on matches from 11 per cent. *ad valorem* to P.T. 20 per gross boxes, not exceeding 10,000 matches, an increase approximately from P.T. 75 to P.T. 1,000 per shipping case of matches. The collection of duties under this ordinance was begun on the 16th August. Sometime previous to the promulgation of this ordinance (it is stated "in July") Mr. Elimiech Sachs, an American citizen, had ordered a quantity (350 shipping cases or 17,500 gross boxes) of matches. His shipment arrived in Palestine on the 18th August, and duty was assessed thereon in the amount of £E. 3,500 under the new tariff instead of £E. 180 under the old tariff. The difference, £E. 3,320, was equivalent to slightly over 15,000 dollars at the then prevailing rate of exchange. Mr. Sachs declined to pay the increased duty, and protested to the consul at Jerusalem. The consul addressed a formal protest to the Palestine Government, and informed the Department of State, which, through the Embassy at London, brought the matter to the attention of the British Foreign Office.



the 10th December the Foreign Office enquired through the Embassy whether, in view of the signature of the Palestine Mandate Convention, it was desired to pursue further, amongst others, this matter.

In reply, the Embassy, under instructions from the Department of State, informed the Foreign Office, under date of the 19th December, in part:—

"The American Government's position regarding the indispensability of its assent to the coming into effect of the Mandate Convention has not been changed by the signature of that convention. Meanwhile, however, my Government would be disposed to give favourable consideration to any reasonable request of the mandatory Power that the United States assent to the collection of increased dues or taxes from Americans in Palestine as from the date of the communication of its assent to the British Government. A similar procedure was followed with respect to a contemplated increase of customs dues in Syria shortly after the signature of the Syrian Mandate Convention between the United States and France.

Apparently no further action has been taken in this matter by the British Foreign Office, other than in its informal enquiry of the 6th March, 1925, through the Embassy, whether the United States Government was prepared to proceed to an exchange of ratifications of the Palestine Mandate Convention.

From a report dated the 4th March, 1925, from the American consul at Jerusalem it would appear that, pending a decision as to the admissibility of this consignment under the previously prevailing duty, it has been refused entry except upon payment of the increased duty, and has been held in the customs bonded warehouse at the port of Jaffa, where it has become subject to considerable storage charges. It appears to be clearly established that this shipment was such as might reasonably have been made to Mr Sachs in the normal course of his dealings in matches, and that his order therefore was not placed with any knowledge of or in anticipation of the subsequent increase in the Palestine import duty as affecting this commodity. Nor does there appear to be any doubt that, should he now be required to enter this shipment at the new rate of duty, he would sustain a considerable actual pecuniary loss. From a further report dated the 7th March, 1925, from the same source, it is stated that the actual loss sustained by Mr Sachs, besides accrued interest and storage charges, is

It will be obvious to the British Government that, under the circumstances, Mr Sachs was entitled to have his shipment of matches enter at the former rate of duty, which would have amounted to £1,180, instead of at the new rate which amounted to £3,500. It is realised, however, that this would have allowed him a considerable profit, and that he would have been enabled to continue his business with his competitors and still obtain a very large percentage of profit. While the United States Government does not desire to take advantage of the situation by insisting, as it might well do, that the matches should be entered at the duty obtaining at the time the purchase was made, it does consider that it can rightfully support the claim of Mr Sachs against loss. It has been suggested that this might be accomplished were the Palestine authorities, who are now detaining Mr Sachs's matches, to take over the shipment, to pay to him a sum which would enable him to pay the duty and allow a reasonable profit, or were they to release the goods to him under such circumstances as will make such result possible. Should this second course be followed, it would seem fair that (1) accrued storage dues on the shipment of matches to Mr Sachs should be remitted, (2) he should be indemnified for the difference between the market value in Palestine of the shipment and its original cost plus the present customs duty thereon, (3) he should be relieved of any loss of accrued interest he may have sustained, and (4) he should receive an amount equal to such reasonable profit as might have accrued on the sale of this shipment had the new duty not been put into effect.

In this connection it should be pointed out that the Department of State, in again raising this question at this time, does not desire in any way to place any unnecessary difficulties in the way of the coming into effect of the convention at the earliest possible moment, and that it is not disposed to make an issue of the omission of the British Government to seek and obtain the assent of the United States Government to the increase of the Palestine tariff affecting the shipment of Mr Sachs. It is, however, the Department's opinion, an opinion in which it is believed the British Government will

should be made to obviate the possibility of his sustaining any loss as a result of the application to his shipment of matches of the increased tariff of the 15th August, 1925

United States Embassy, London,  
July 3, 1925.

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No. 208.

Mr. Dormer to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 20.)

(No. 96.)  
Sir,

British Legation to the Holy See, Rome,  
July 17, 1925.

I HAVE the honour to report that, according to private information given me by Mgr. Barlassina, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, has been creating fresh difficulties in Palestine for the Holy See among the different religious communities and rites, and that the Pope has finally decided to end such a situation. I understand that Mgr. Barlassina has been acting as if he were the official representative of the Holy See, whereas in reality he is merely an ordinary, with no more representative character than any other bishop. A "permanent Apostolic Visitor" is to be sent out who will be the Pope's official representative, and, on his arrival, Mgr. Barlassina will have to confine himself to his regular episcopal functions. Mgr. Kean is not likely to be given the appointment, as he is under the authority of the Patriarch, and I believe the choice will fall on Father Paschal Robinson. It is probable that the Apostolic Visitor will prepare the way for the appointment of an Apostolic delegate. Mgr. Barlassina is expected in Rome in a week's time. I will not fail to report further as soon as I am in a position to do so.

I have, &c.  
C. DORMER

E 4572 4242 65.

No. 209

Mr. Dormer to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 5.)

(No. 102. Confidential.)  
Sir,

British Legation to the Holy See, Rome,  
July 29, 1925.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 96 of the 17th instant, I have the honour to report that the appointment of Apostolic Visitor to Palestine has now been given to Father Paschal Robinson. In this capacity he will, as already reported, be the official representative of the Pope. He will have no easy task to perform in defining and co-ordinating the relations between the Latins and members of the Oriental rites, as also between the different rites themselves, e.g., between the Custodia and the Latin Patriarchate, but if anyone is likely to succeed it is Father Robinson. Though a Frenchman himself, he enjoys the confidence of the Holy See, and, what is equally important, his prestige in Rome stands unrivalled in all that pertains to Palestine. There was a time when Cardinal van Rossum, in his own mind, was too much from a one-sided standpoint, "troppo inglese." Cardinal van Rossum once called him, but nevertheless the confidence reposed in his judgment has grown and is now shared by the cardinal himself, who lately appointed him Consultor of the Congregation of Propaganda.

2. If his absence is felt in Rome his presence in Palestine should make for smoother relations all round, especially now that Mgr. Kean appears to have succeeded in restoring, on the Patriarch's side, a more friendly attitude towards the British authorities.

3. I understand that Father Robinson will not be leaving until the end of August, and in the meanwhile Mgr. Barlassina is expected shortly to be arriving in Rome, when he will be informed of the decisions taken. Incidentally, I should add that Father Robinson's jurisdiction will extend to Cyprus.

I have, &c.  
C. DORMER

E 6224 4242 65]

No. 210.

Sir Odo Russell to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 13.)

No. 132. Confidential.)

British Legation to the Holy See, Rome,  
October 5, 1925.

WITH reference to Mr Dormer's despatch No. 102 of the 29th July, I have the honour to report that Father Paschal Robinson called at the Legation this morning to take farewell before proceeding to Jerusalem to assume his appointment as Apostolic Visitor to Palestine. The reverend father is to leave Rome on Wednesday next. With the arrival of Father Paschal Robinson as representative of the Pope in the Holy Land, many of the dissensions which have agitated rival factions in the past will, I venture to predict, be smoothed over, as everyone, from the High Commissioner and the Patriarch downwards, will be able to profit by the tact, knowledge and authority of this holy man. This prediction will be readily confirmed, I feel confident, by those officials in your department who are personally acquainted with Father Robinson and his work. In Rome he has the ear of the highest, and the reliable information he has always been ready to communicate to the Legation has therefore at all times been of great value. In the intricate problems of the Holy Places, in their past history as well as in post-war negotiations for a settlement, he can perhaps be called the leading expert. As a Franciscan he will stand well with the Custodia, while the good relations he has personally always maintained with Mgr. Barlassina will no doubt serve to promote friendlier intercourse between the Patriarchate and the representatives of his Order. Father Robinson tells me that he has declined a pressing invitation to take up his abode in the Patriarchate in order to preserve more effectively the position of impartiality which his office of Apostolic Visitor demands, and that he will in the first instance alight at an hotel until a suitable residence can be found.

2. In the course of a long audience he had yesterday with the Pope to receive his final instructions, His Holiness charged him with friendly messages to the High Commissioner and to the Governor of Palestine as he was of Malta. "I cannot wish him anything better," added His Holiness, "as his position of Governor of Malta was far more important and perfect."

I am, &c.  
O. O. RUSSELL

E 4182 214 65

No. 2

Mr Austen Chamberlain to Mr Houghton

Your Excellency,

Foreign Office, October 13, 1925

I HAVE the honour to inform you that His Majesty's Government have considered sympathetically the various questions dealt with in your Excellency's note of the 10th December, 1924, and memoranda of the 4th May and the 3rd July last relative to the position of United States citizens in Palestine prior to and pending the entry into force of the Anglo-American Palestine Mandate Convention of the 3rd December, 1924. His Majesty's Government understand that the United States Government desire to reach a friendly settlement of the outstanding cases that have arisen in connection with this subject before the convention concerned is actually brought into force by the formal exchange of the ratifications which have already taken place. As from the date of this exchange the position will, of course, be fully regularised, and no further cases of this type can arise. It is therefore desirable from every point of view that the exchange of ratifications should take place with the least possible delay.

2. The particular cases of which a settlement is desired fall into two main categories—administrative and legal. As regards the former, His Majesty's Government fully understand the position taken up by the Government of the United States, that their prior assent is indispensable to the imposition of any dues or taxes upon United States citizens in Palestine pending the entry into force of the convention. His Majesty's Government realise, moreover, that this position has not been changed by the mere signature of the convention. It appears, however,

that only one case in this category—that of Mr. Sachs—has formed the subject of protest by the United States authorities. I understand from your memorandum of the 3rd July last that the views of your Government in this matter could be satisfactorily met by the remittance of the accrued storage dues on the shipment of matches to Mr. Sachs, by his indemnification for the difference between the market value in Palestine of the shipment and its original cost, together with the present customs duty thereon by Mr. Sachs being relieved of any loss of accrued interest which he may have sustained as a result of the action of the Palestine authorities in this matter, and by his receiving an amount equal to such reasonable profit as might have accrued on the sale of this shipment had the new duty not been put into effect. His Majesty's Government, while adhering to their own views in regard to the questions of principle involved, which, as you are aware, are in conflict with those held by your Government, are willing to undertake, on behalf of the Palestine Government, that the steps suggested above as regards the particular case of Mr. Sachs' shipment of matches will be taken by the Palestine Government immediately after the entry into force of the convention. As regards the question of principle, His Majesty's Government consider now that adequate provision has been made for the future, the situation will be adequately met if each Government takes formal note of the view held by the other, while at the same time expressing its regret that it is unable on grounds of principle to conform thereto.

3. With regard to the Skorn case and other cases involving the question of jurisdiction over American citizens prior to the entry into force of the Palestine Mandate Convention, His Majesty's Government notice with satisfaction that the United States Government have no objection to the retrial by the Palestinian courts of the cases concerned, but regret that it is not possible for them to take the measures suggested in your notes under reply. Such measures would involve *ex post facto* legislation of the kind which is as contrary to British as to United States constitutional practice. Here again, it appears that the only solution is that suggested above, that is, for each Government to take formal note of the view held by the other, while expressing its regret that it is unable on principle to conform to it.

4. If there is any civil case, however, in which a United States citizen has refused to appear in the Palestinian courts, and where he alleges that he had a good defence and that, had he appeared, the judgment would therefore not have been entered against him, the Palestine Government will be prepared to request the Chief Justice, or some other responsible officer to investigate the case. Should this officer, as a result of his investigations, form the opinion that the defence, which would have been put forward by the American citizen had he appeared, would have succeeded, His Majesty's Government will undertake that the Palestine Government will offer fair compensation to the United States citizen concerned as an act of diplomatic courtesy not affecting the question of principle involved.

5. It does not appear to His Majesty's Government that any useful purpose would be served by a further discussion of the complicated legal position arising out of the abolition of the capitulations prior to the entry into force of the convention. It is apparent that the views held by His Majesty's Government, as mandatories for Palestine, and those held by the United States Government on this matter cannot be reconciled, and, in view of the conclusion of the Mandate Convention, further attempts to reconcile these views appear unnecessary. His Majesty's Government have, however, no desire to obtain from the Government of the United States any formal abandonment of the capitulatory rights of United States citizens in Palestine prior to the entry into force of the convention. On the contrary, they readily take formal note of the fact that the claim to these rights was not abandoned by the United States Government. At the same time, they feel convinced that the United States Government will equally appreciate the position of His Majesty's Government.

I am, &amp;c.

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN



E 7038 214 65

Mr. Houghton to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 16.)

United States Embassy,

London, November 14, 1924.

Sir,  
I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 13th October, 1924, in reply to the Embassy's note of the 19th December, 1924, and memoranda of the 4th May and the 3rd July last, relative to the position of American nationals in Palestine prior to the entering into force of the Palestine Mandate Convention signed the 3rd December, 1924.

In reply, I am directed to inform you of the satisfaction with which my Government has noted the sympathetic consideration which has been accorded the communications which I had the honour to address to you on this subject, with a view to finding a mutually satisfactory basis for the settlement of the questions at issue. I take pleasure in informing you that my Government has authorized me to convey to you its acquiescence in the suggestion that as regards the questions of principle which have arisen with respect to the status of the capitulatory rights of American citizens in the mandated territory of Palestine pending the coming into force of the convention each Government should take note of the view held by the other. Further consideration of this question is rendered unnecessary, as far as Palestine is concerned, in view of the practical steps which His Majesty's Government, on behalf of the Palestine Government, has indicated its readiness to take in the individual cases which the Embassy has had the honour to bring to your attention. Upon the exchange of ratifications of the convention the situation will be automatically regularized.

In conclusion, I am directed by my Government to inform you that, as a result of the present exchange of notes, I shall be pleased, at your convenience, to proceed to the ratifications of the Palestine Mandate Convention of the 3rd December, 1924.

I have, &amp;c.

(For the Ambassador),

RAY ATHERTON

First Secretary of Embassy

## CHAPTER IV.—SYRIA.

E 3728 362 65

No. 213

Mr. Austen Chamberlain to the Marquess of Creix (Paris).

(No. 2257)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 1, 1925

WITH reference to your despatch No. 1094 of the 8th May and previous correspondence regarding the north-eastern section of Syria which separates Turkey from Iraq, I transmit to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a telegram from His Majesty's High Commissioner for Iraq.

2. I realize that it is a matter of some delicacy to approach the French Government again on this subject in view of the categorical assurances given to you to the effect that they have no intention of allowing the Turks to penetrate into this territory or of entering into any agreement for such a purpose. I place full reliance on these assurances, and have no desire to question their sincerity. On the other hand, the Quind's have apparently not yet received from the French High Commissioner in Syria the information which they undertook to obtain from him. They have themselves admitted that Turkish patrols may exist in this area, and it appears from the telegram enclosed herein that the Turks have in fact established posts in a territory which the French Government regard as unquestionably French.

3. I shall therefore be glad if you will communicate the substance of Sir H. Dobson's observations to the Marquess of Creix. In the course of the preceding paragraph of this despatch, you should assure them that His Majesty's Government fully realize the practical difficulties which must beset the French authorities in exercising effective control over this territory. I express the hope that the French Government will be able to secure effective control over the region in question as soon as possible, and that it may be possible to reach an understanding with the Turks which will enable them to do so.

I am, &amp;c.

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

Enclosure in No. 213

High Commissioner, Iraq, to Colonial Office.

(No. 292.)

(Telegraphic.)

June 16, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 228

According to the latest reliable information, the following are the Turkish posts in the Syrian wedge, with their approximate strength: 1. 1 officer, 10 men at Grikara; 1 commissioned officer, 10 men at Kharab Rashid; 1 commissioned officer, 10 men at Hamarweyah (which is 5 miles south west of Grikara); 1 non-commissioned officer, 10 men at Pihaz (which is 4 miles south of Kharab Rashid); 4 or 5 men at Mamshar (which is 3 miles north of Grikara).

E 4006 357 89

No. 214.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 7)

(No. 107.)

Sir,

Damascus, Syria, June 23, 1925

WITH reference to the last paragraph of my despatch No. 100 of the 16th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith translation of a facsimile of the famous Druze "Charter of Independence."

The Druze chiefs have returned to Damascus from Beirut, where General Sarrail refused to receive them. Apparently the chiefs were prepared to waive their right to a native Governor, provided the French Governor were someone other than

Captain Carbillet. They profess to be satisfied with the Acting Governor, Captain Renault, who was a subordinate in the Bureau de Renseignements here. He is a young man, reputed to be enlightened and to be addicted to the sympathetic study of local customs. He is said to have composed a work on the Beduins.

I have the honour to enclose herewith a translation of a letter of protest addressed to the general by the Druze chiefs after their return to Damascus and published in the Damascus newspaper "Abi Ba."

It would seem that French colonial mentality is unable to adapt itself to the peculiar circumstances of the Jebel Druze. For centuries the Druze community has lived in a state of internal independence under the suzerainty of the Power holding Syria. With a little tact and management, it should not be difficult for France, which has more effective means of repression than those possessed by former overlords, to hold the mountain securely without excessive interference in the internal arrangements of this peculiar community. For instance, there would seem no reason why France should not respect the Charter of Independence and tolerate a native Governor suitably guided by French advisers, who, as elsewhere in French mandated territory, would exercise the real power. The persistence of the mandatory authorities in imposing a French Governor, against their own written engagement, appears to be unnecessarily provocative and without any practical advantage to France. The result of this attitude appears to be that the mountain is being driven into the arms of Syrian nationalism and unity, from which the Druzes, if their local independence were respected, would gladly hold aloof.

The deputation to M. Brunet and the general included or represented the leading chiefs of the Attrache and Halabi families, between whom, it is asserted, concord has been re-established, in spite of French efforts to create division (see my despatch No. 98 of the 16th June, 1924).

The Druze chiefs have expressed very uncomplimentary opinions regarding General Sarrail, whom they appear to regard as being in his dotage.

By exasperating the Druzes, France appears to be doing her best to stir up a hornet's nest in a locality where disorder would be inconvenient both to herself and to our neighbouring mandatory territory of Transjordan.

I have, &c  
W. A. SMART

Enclosure in No. 214

(Translation)

### *The Basic Organisation of the Government of the Jebel Druze*

#### ARTICLE 1.

IN the Jebel Druze of the Hauran a native Government is formed, widely independent in its administration, under the French mandate. As to the frontiers of this new Government, they will be defined by a commission, and will then have to be confirmed by the mandatory Power.

#### ARTICLE 2.

This Government will be a native one and its employees will be chosen from the natives of the country. The manner of its administration shall be in accordance with local customs. The mandatory Power will provide French advisers to the native Government. These advisers will be under the French delegate at Damascus. The name of this Government will be reserved till it is agreed upon with the High Commissioner.

#### ARTICLE 3.

A native Governor will be at the head of the Government, and his election will be subject to the approval of the mandatory Power. His election will not be final until after the approval of the mandatory Power.

#### ARTICLE 4.

Two Assemblies will assist the Governor in his work. The first will be called the "Government Council," and the second the "Administrative Commission." The legal representatives of the nation will elect the Government Council for a period of three years, in accordance with a special law which will be enacted hereafter. This council will meet once a year to examine the Government budget and to approve the accounts of the previous year. It will make proposals regarding public affairs, such as public works, health, public assistance, education, &c. But the Administrative Commission will sit permanently, and its members will be composed of persons appointed by the Governor and delegates elected by the Government Council.

#### ARTICLE 5.

A special law will be enacted to define the duties of the Governor and his powers and the powers of the Government Council and those of the Administrative Commission, and how these bodies should be formed. A special committee will be entrusted with the drawing up of this law, which will not be executory till after the approval of the mandatory Power.

#### ARTICLE 6.

The mandatory Power alone will give the Jebel Druze any technical, financial, economic and military assistance which it may need.

#### ARTICLE 7.

The mandatory Power undertakes to exempt the inhabitants of Jebel Druze from compulsory military service. As to the gendarmerie and police, which are needed for the maintenance of public security, they will be established on a basis of voluntary service. The inhabitants of the Jebel will be allowed to keep their arms within the frontiers of the Druze Government, but outside those frontiers the above mentioned inhabitants must obey the regulations in force for carrying arms.

#### ARTICLE 8.

The mandatory Power alone is entrusted with the interests of the Druze Government and its representation abroad. But within the French zone the mandatory Power will accept representatives of the Mountain Government for economic affairs.

#### ARTICLE 9.

The mandatory Power undertakes not to compel the Government of the Druze Mountain to enter into the Syrian Unity which is likely to occur hereafter between the Syrian countries, except in what concerns economic questions which are of common interest to both the Druze Government and other Syrian regions.

#### ARTICLE 10.

The sources of revenue for the budget of the Druze Mountain are the following:—

1. The different taxes imposed by the Government Council.
2. The taxes imposed on mines which will probably be discovered in the lands of this Government.
3. The revenues of the parts of the "Samiyeh Lands" which were properties of the former Ottoman Government, and which will probably be included in the zone of the new Government of the Druze Mountain. No taxes will be paid within the limits of this Government.

#### ARTICLE 11.

The budget of the Government of Jebel Druze does not become executory until after the approval of the French High Commissioner in Syria.

#### ARTICLE 12.

No customs duties will be imposed between the Government of Jebel Druze and the Government of the Damascus region. But the Druze Government will have the right to get its share of the Syrian customs revenues in the event of their being divided between the other Syrian regions.



## ARTICLE 14

## ARTICLE 15

Signed and sealed by

I agree and confirm the above in my name  
and in the name of the Religious Chiefs  
MUSKOGEE, ALABAMA

Religious Chief

Seal of French High Commissioner  
Approuvé

(For insertion).

ROBERT DE CAIX

Feb 4 march 1921

E 4137 362 653

No 215

*The Marquess of Crewe to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 15.)*

(NP, 4570)

HIS Majesty's representative at Paris presents his compliments to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of a note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated the 11th July, respecting Turkish military posts in North-East Syria.

Paris, July 14, 1925.

M. Briand to the Marquess of Creixell

31 l'Ambassadeur.

Paris, le 11 juillet 1925.

PAR sa lettre du 2 de ce mois, votre Excellence a bien voulu, sur les instructions du principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté pour les Affaires étrangères, attirer mon attention sur un rapport télégraphique du Haut Commissaire britannique en Irak aux termes duquel certains postes turcs seraient établis dans la région nord-est du territoire

Vous m'avez rappelé en même temps qu'une conversation avait eu lieu, le 12 mars dernier, entre le chef du service en question et M. de la Motte, un des membres du Comité d'Asie du Sud-Ouest, membre de votre Ambassade, au cours de laquelle ce dernier exposa les préoccupations du Gouvernement français à l'égard de la situation dans cette région. Le chef du service en question proposa alors d'écrire au Haut-Commissaire de la République à Beyrouth pour demander des informations sur la situation dans cette région. Il fit en même temps remarquer, en se référant à la déclaration faite par le Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires étrangères, le 23 janvier, à la Chambre des Députés, que le Gouvernement français n'avait aucune intention de céder à la Turquie une partie quelconque du territoire syrien.

Vous m'expliquez, d'autre part, le desir d'être mis au courant des informations qui avaient pu être reçues de Beyrouth à ce sujet. Vous avez ajouté que le Gouvernement français a l'intention de continuer à coopérer avec les forces armées françaises pour exercer leur contrôle sur les régions du nord-est de la Syrie voisines de la Turquie, ce fait pleinement aux assurances données par le Gouvernement français, à savoir qu'il n'avait aucune intention de laisser les Turcs s'installer sur ces territoires ni de conclure avec eux un arrangement dans ce sens.

Vous ne sauriez connaître enfin que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté m'exprimait l'espoir qu'au cours des négociations prochaines entre la France et la Turquie pour la délimitation de la frontière syro-turque, il ne serait fait dans cette région aucune rétrocession de territoire syrien.

J'ai l'honneur d'exprimer à votre Excellence mes remerciements pour les informations qu'elle a bien voulu me faire parvenir. Une collaboration cordiale et confiante entre les Etats-Unis et la France est de la plus haute importance. La France peut en comprendre entièrement aux vœux du Gouvernement de la République.

La non-détermination du tracé exact de la frontière entre la Syrie et la Turquie est, en effet, une cause de difficultés pour les autorités françaises de Syrie. Il n'a pas dépendu du Gouvernement français que cette frontière ne fût déjà délimitée en 1922, conformément à l'art. 15 du Traité d'Angara, par lequel la zone d'occupation franco-turque fut constituée, mais le Gouvernement turc refusa de ratifier l'accord qui avait été constaté ses travaux. Ce n'est qu'en 1924 que le représentant français à Angara obtint d'Ismet Pacha la reconnaissance de cette commission, qui doit commencer à très bref délai des opérations sur le terrain.

En ce qui concerne particulièrement la section Niabine-Djoudah-ibn-Omar, votre Excellence sait qu'aux termes de l'article 8 de l'Accord d'Angora, la frontière doit suivre la "vieille route" jusqu'à Djoudah ibn Omar, où elle rejoindra le Tigre. Quoiqu'il semble qu'aucun doute ne soit possible quant à l'interprétation d'une formule aussi claire, le Gouvernement turc l'a contestée et prétend que le terme de "vieille route" doit s'appliquer à une voie située sensiblement plus au sud, partant en effet de Niabine, mais qui ne perd au sud dans les sables au passage de la rivière Salachai.

Quelque sûr qu'il fût de son bon droit, le Gouvernement français n'a pas voulu, avant qu'une délimitation ait fixé la frontière, intervenir militairement dans la région contestée pour y affirmer son autorité. Il a considéré, en effet, que des opérations militaires ne pourraient aboutir qu'à porter le trouble parmi les tribus qui attendent tranquillement d'être fixées sur leur sort.

Le Gouvernement français n'en est pas moins résolu à maintenir son point de vue, au cours des négociations qui vont s'ouvrir pour la délimitation de la frontière syro-turque. S'il peut être amené, dans la partie comprise entre la mer et Nisibine, à consentir sur le terrain de légères rectifications du frontière qui se justifieraient par des considérations pratiques, il n'en est pas de même dans la partie entre Nisibine et Hjezrah, puisque d'après le traité la frontière suit la vieille route. En toute hypothèse, le Gouvernement de la République n'a pas l'intention de rétrocéder à la Turquie une

portion de quelque importance du territoire syrien. Il estime, d'ailleurs, qu'aux termes du mandat qui constitue la base légale de l'autorité de la France en Syrie, il ne serait pas en droit de le faire sans le double assentiment de la Société des Nations et des populations syriennes.

ARISTIDE BRIAND.

[E 4210 357/89]

No 216.

Consul-General Satow to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 2 )

No. 92.)

Sir,

Beirut, July 8, 1925

1 HAVE the honour to report that the first degree elections for the new Representative Council of the Great Lebanon, which were held on the 28th June and the two following days, appear from all accounts to have been conducted in a most scandalous fashion.

2 Bribery and corruption were rampant and unashamed. Beirut in this respect deserves particularly dishonourable mention, and Zahleh, on the edge of the Bekaa Plain, comes in a good second. The buying of votes was conducted as a regular business through brokers, who, while presumably paid by the candidates, also took a contribution from the voters. As a typical instance, I would cite the case of an Armenian carpenter who sold his vote for £5 3, of which he paid £3.1 to the broker. The Armenians are getting all the blame, and beyond doubt they, having no interest in the country or the candidates and a keen eye to the main chance, welcomed the opportunity of making easy money. But the Armenians were not the only ones, and money also passed into Lebanese hands.

3 Apart from this scandal, there are widespread complaints as to misconduct on the part of Government officials and supervising officers, who are accused of general obstruction, destruction of voting papers handed in by persons known to belong to the Opposition, and the use of papers signed by imaginary persons in favour of Government candidates and manipulation of the voting hours to keep out persons believed to be against the Government. Some of the complaints are presumably exaggerated, but, taking things as a whole, there is no doubt that there is much truth in the charges. Indeed, while the Opposition papers are full of them, those reckoned as Government papers are not so full. The Government of the Great Lebanon, which is usually fertile in communications and has prior to the date of the elections published several notices affirming its entire neutrality, has only thought fit to warn malcontents against public demonstrations and disorders, and to point out that any complaints in respect of alleged election irregularities must be submitted to the Council of State.

4 I am not in a position to say whether this body, which has not long been in existence, is really organised so as to be able to deal speedily with matters before it, but, in view of the number of complaints, it is obvious that it cannot deal with them all before the 12th July, which is the date fixed for the second degree elections.

5 A curious incident occurred at Souk-el-Gharb, near which village General Sarnal has taken up his headquarters. There a number of persons belonging to the Opposition, or so-called People's party, being angered by the behaviour of the superior officers, who were supposed to be favouring the Government, set up a deputation to the High Commissioner. The latter on hearing their complaint impulsively said that he would go with them to the voting booth, and actually started on his way. But on second thoughts he realised that his action was not fitting, and he turned back, telling the deputation to put their complaint in writing. Two subsequent deputations called on him later with other complaints, and were recommended to petition the Government.

6 Apart from declaring null and void practically all the first degree elections and postponing the date for those of the second degree, which would be an open confession of failure, there does not seem much for the Government to do, and probably it will do nothing.

7 In the Lebanon, when the Government is mentioned the Governor is as a rule meant. He is therefore credited with the responsibility for the various irregularities which have taken place. He is reputed to be an able administrator, but he does

a diplomat to cope with the Lebanese and their ways. With a view to breaking the influence of the clergy, which has long been excessive and abusive, but his methods are somewhat heavy-handed and have provoked much of the present bother. However, he seems to wish to be named permanently Governor of the Lebanon, and the chances are that he will attain his object. There is no accounting for tastes.

I have, &c.

H. E. SATOW.

[E 4310 357/89]

No. 217.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July )

(No. 110.)

Sir,

Damascus, Syria, July 10, 1925.

WITH reference to correspondence ending with my despatch No. 107 of the 2nd ultimo, I have the honour to report that a fortnight ago another Druze delegation appeared in Damascus, and asked for the retention of Captain Carillet as Governor of the mountain. This second delegation was not nearly as representative as the first. The French High Commissioner's refusal to receive the first delegation no doubt encouraged some persons to come forward as the partisans of a Governor who, if the general attitude were to be taken seriously, seemed likely to reward with rewards for his supporters and emolument for his administration.

A few days later the anti-Carillet Druzes made a demonstration at Soueida, the capital of the mountain, in front of the arena, where the Representative Council was then sitting. A riot ensued, the details of which, according to the accounts received by me, are as follows:—

One of Carillet's supporters, Faria Bey Attache, a member of the council, happened to be in the arena, and was called to take part in the council's deliberations. He was badly handled by the demonstrators and had to take refuge in a neighbouring shop. French and native officers and officials, with gendarmes, appeared on the scene with a view to calming the excitement, but were attacked by stones. One of the crowd, Hussein Mershal R. dwan, even fired several shots at the French adviser of gendarmes, Lieutenant Morel, fortunately missing him, but wounding a gendarme in the hand. The lieutenant, however, received several blows from stones and sticks, and had to make good his escape.

French troops were then brought out and occupied the town with machine-guns. The demonstrators fled, but a few arrests were effected. R. dwan is said to have escaped to Transjordan. Owing to its failure to deliver this culprit, the town is said to have had to pay an indemnity of £200 gold.

Commandant Tommy Martin, head of the Bureau des Renseignements at Damascus, left at once for Soueida to investigate matters.

Since then there have been several cases of armed attacks on travellers and villages in the mountain.

It is held in some quarters that Captain Renaud, the acting Governor, is encouraging the movement against Captain Carillet, whose place he would like to occupy definitively. I am unable to say what truth there is in this view. Anyhow, the situation in the Jebel Druze is, it would seem, being handled with that curious incoherence which during the last six months has characterised French policy in these parts. The French would, as indicated in my despatch above referred to, have been well advised to have yielded the shadow for the substance, given the Druzes their native Governor in accordance with France's written engagement, and then have controlled the mountain just as effectively by a French adviser with all the real power in his hands. If, however, France was resolved to impose not only a French Governor generally but Captain Carillet particularly, on the mountain against the manifest wishes of the Druzes, it is inconceivable why this agitation was allowed to grow. The only logical line to follow, once an unpopular policy had been decided upon, would have been to stick to it and not to allow it to degenerate into the present very illogical and un-French compromise appears to have thoroughly disturbed the Jebel Druze, and, in the absence of vigorous reaction, to be leading back to the

[14003]



disorders which characterised the Druze country during the early days of the French regime. Perhaps the mandatory authority will, before the danger now apparent, pull itself together and resort again to the usual French order.

I have, &c  
W A SMART

[E 4413, 357 89]

Consul Smart to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 28.)

(No. 120.)

Sir,

Damascus, July 15, 1925

WITH reference to correspondence ending with my despatch No. 116 of the 10th instant, I have the honour to report that the French authorities appear to have decided on a vigorous repression in the Jebel Druze.

Abdul Gaffar Pasha, Nasib Bey, Emir Hamad, Abdul Kerim Bey, and Yusuf Bey, leading chiefs of the predominant Attrache family, were, at the invitation of Captain Tommy Martin, enticed to Damascus on the pretext of a friendly discussion and liquidation of the whole dispute. The first three were, at Damascus, seized and taken off under military guard to Palmyra. The last two, who tried to escape Sueda, have been kept in detention at their own house in Damascus. At the same time, four French armoured cars proceeded from here to Sueda in case of trouble when the news of the arrests became known in the mountain. Aeroplanes have, it is said, been sent to Laran to await developments.

Captain Tommy Martin has sent two French officers to Kurrayeh, the village of Sultan Pasha Attrache, the leading spirit of the anti-French hostilities in the early days of the occupation. This chief was there with Mut'ib Pasha Attrache (see my despatch No. 65 of the 27th April last), and with a considerable escort of armed horsemen. The French officers invited the two chiefs to come into Sueda for a discussion. Both chiefs refused.

It is reported that orders have been issued by the French for the arrest of thirty-six other Druze sheikhs.

I need hardly insist on the danger of the methods adopted by the French. Methods of deception such as these were often practised successfully by Turkish rulers, who, however, had an altogether different system of dealing with these semi-tribal communities. Hitherto these dubious methods have not yet been generally associated by the native mind with European rulers. It is difficult to establish a peaceful administration on an European model in a country like Syria, unless, at least, the natives have confidence that the old system of government by Oriental methods is being restored. It is quite certain that the Druzes, at any rate, will no longer have that assurance.

An American acquaintance of mine, who recently returned from a trip in the Jebel Druze, where he was the guest of various local chiefs, told me that there was considerable excitement all over the mountain, and in Damascus there is much talk even in responsible native quarters, of a Druze rising. The sheikhs, it is said, realise the folly of fighting against armoured cars, machine guns and aeroplanes with tribal irregulars armed only with rifles and not sufficiently supplied with ammunition. But there is some fear that the sheikhs may not be able to restrain in their hot-headed and less intelligent followers, exasperated by the treacherous capture of their chiefs. It is to be hoped that counsels of wisdom will prevail, for a revolt would only result in a pitiless repression.

The belief that Captain Renault, the Acting Governor, is working against Captain Carbillet, is now confirmed to me from a sure source. Members of the Druze Government, formed by Captain Carbillet himself, admit to be co-operating with Captain Renault in this intrigue.

The situation in the Jebel Druze has stirred even the pro-French elements at Damascus. A Druze newspaper, now published under French influence, has published an appeal for the union of the two parties (the Governmental Party of Unity and the Nationalist Party of the People) to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the Jebel Druze situation by the return of the exiles. The editor points out that all the trouble has been caused for the sake of one

person named Carbillet. The implication evidently is that Carbillet should be sacrificed in the cause of peace.

The feeling against Captain Carbillet appears to be strong and not without justification. His mentality and methods seem to be better suited to North African conditions than to the peculiar and delicate conditions of the Druze community.

I have indicated before, the Druze situation has been manifestly mishandled by French colonial officialdom, which, apart from its inability to adapt itself to the particular conditions of the mountain, has, during the last six months, been afflicted by an incoherence which is not at all in keeping with the logical realism of French colonial methods. It now appears decided to return to its traditions and to solve the problem by force. Obviously French force can overcome any possible Druze opposition, but it cannot solve the Druze problem, which will remain open after even the sternest repression.

I have, &c  
W A SMART

[E 4440 1065 65]

No. 219.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 29.)

(No. 129.)

Sir,

Damascus, July 16, 1925.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 49 of the 14th April last I have the honour to report that thirty persons charged with participating in the riotous demonstration of the 1st of June have been sentenced to imprisonment varying from one to three days and a fine of 2 Syrian pounds (40 francs) each, costs being divided among them.

I have, &c.  
W A SMART

E 4454 357 89]

No. 220

Consul General Salour to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 29.)

(No. 95.)

Sir,

Beirut, July 20, 1925

WITH reference to my despatch No. 92 of the 6th July, I have the honour to report that the second degree elections for the new Representative Council duly took place on the 12th July.

2. The thirty Deputies elected, as previously on a confessional basis, are credited with being either supporters of the Government or in opposition to it. Probably many of them have a very different view and are prepared to make a few big jumps. On the whole, it does not seem to matter very much, as the council will be elected by secret ballot and will probably prove a very obstructive body.

3. The council held its first meeting on the 16th July. After electing its president, a certain Moussa Effendi Nammour (a Maronite from the Bekaa district) and after electing its secretary, a Greek, it presented a motion asking the French High Commissioner to put off the question of the election of the Governor until after the Organic Law had been prepared, and it also adopted another motion presented by one of the alleged Opposition Deputies asking the High Commissioner to hasten the preparation of the Organic Law.

4. The sequel has been the issue by General Sarrail of a decree No. 175 S, dated the 16th July, appointing M. Cayla to be permanently Governor of the Great Lebanon. M. Schaeffer, of Damascus, replaces M. Cayla as Governor of the State of the Alaouites, and M. Privat-Aubouard succeeds M. Schaeffer at Damascus as "delegate" of the High Commissioner. M. Solomiac, of the French High Commission, is appointed "delegate" to the State of the Great Lebanon, and M. Dumont "delegate" to the State of the Alaouites. He will act as Governor of that State until the return of M. Schaeffer.

5. I am telling Mr. Smart privately, to whom these changes will be of interest, what I know about M. Privat-Aubouard, whom, despite a somewhat unprepossessing manner, I have always found friendly.

[14003]

23

6. The judicial authorities are said to be holding an enquiry into the bribery and corruption which was so striking a feature of the elections of first degree, but I think one may safely assume that nothing useful will result from the enquiry. In this connection, it is curious to learn that General Sarrail recently informed the local correspondent of the "Times" that, on the occasion of the elections held in Lebanon, General Gouraud the French Governor-General had written a letter to the then Governor of the Lebanon for electioneering purposes.

I have, &c.  
H. E. SATOW

No. 221

Consul General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 31)

(No. 27)

(Telegraphic.)

Beirut, July 31, 1925

FOLLOWING for Air Ministry from liaison officer —

"Following is situation in Jebel Druse —

"Rebels, estimated strength 6,000, are [? group omitted] exit from Soueida, where one French battalion is holding out. Unconfirmed report states that Sadiyah and Shit tribes are co-operating with rebels. French are assembling columns of all arms at Ezra. Approximate strength, 3,500. French hoping Bedouins will co-operate and attack from east. Aerial bombardment continues. Please inform Jerusalem."

(Repeated to Palestine.)

No. 222

Consul General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 3.)

(No. 28.)

(Telegraphic.)

Beirut, August 3, 1925

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry —

Following is continuation of previous wire —

"Operations in Jebel Druse are confined to area between Ezra and Soueida. Column moved from Ezra on 1st August, and by the evening of 2nd August after considerable fighting, was established in Elnezzrah, 7 miles north west of Soueida. All quiet south of Soueida."

(Repeated to Palestine)

E 4577 357 89]

No. 223.

Consul General Satow to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 5.)

(No. 29.)

Sir,

Beirut, July 23, 1925.

1 HAVE the honour to report that the day before yesterday in the course of a demonstration in front of the Lebanon Government offices in the public square known as the Place des Nations, several persons were killed and wounded.

2 As from the 1st July of this year, commercial rents (i.e., rents of offices and shops) have been decontrolled, whereas the control of residential rents has been continued until the 1st July, 1926. This fact led a number of shopkeepers, fearful of the closing of all shops on the 20th July by way of protest, and most shops appear actually to have been closed.

3. In addition to the closing of the shops a demonstration was held on the public square near the Government offices, and an interview with the Governor was demanded by the crowd. M. Cayla came down and promised the demonstrators that he would receive a deputation and examine their grievances.

4. He then returned to his room, but apparently the crowd did not break up. The police and gendarmes then tried to disperse it, and some arrests were effected. Matters then took a turn for the worse, and the crowd which up till then had been orderly began to stone the police and to break windows. The police and gendarmes in the end withdrew into the yard of the serail and the gates were closed. The crowd then directed its attention to a police station not far from the serail and broke windows. It next forcibly released a prisoner who had been arrested by gendarmes, beat the latter and broke the windows of the gendarmerie quarters. A French gendarme was killed and a crowd was stoned. The crowd then turned once more towards the serail, demanding the release of the persons arrested, and a second time broke windows. It seems to have been at this period in the proceedings that the police and gendarmes opened fire. While some fired in the air others fired at the crowd. Various casualties occurred, and it is reported that six persons were killed or died of wounds, while some fifteen others were wounded. Among the latter were a French gendarme officer named Kreiss and a M. Boustani, the Lebanese chief of the administrative section of the police. Soon afterwards a squadron of Spahis and some Senegalese infantry appeared with a machine gun which either fired blank or into the air. The Spahis dispersed the crowd, and about midday quiet was restored.

5. An official communiqué suggests that the trouble was due to the participation in the peaceful demonstration organised by the shopkeepers of certain persons whose aim it was to stir up trouble. The semi-official newspaper "La Syrie" suggests that the disorder is due to the unbridled attacks made by the opposition press on those in authority during the past six months. If that is so, the blame lies with those who allowed such attacks to be made, and it is suggested that Turkish agents helped to stir up the trouble. Others, again, lay the blame on the local police, and especially on M. Sivadon, their French chief, of whom I have heard French officials speak disparagingly. As regards the police themselves, a reliable eye-witness tells me that in the earlier stages of the demonstration they were behaving with considerable tact and restraint. This may well have been the case, but they are not well trained and easily lose their heads in an emergency such as that with which they were later confronted. However, an enquiry is to be held, and it may throw some light on the responsibility for what is a most regrettable incident.

6. It seems likely that the incident will tend to diminish French prestige, which has undoubtedly weakened during the past six months.

I have, &c.

H. E. SATOW

No. 224

Consul General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 5.)

(Unnumbered)

(Telegraphic.)

Beirut, August 5, 1925.

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry, repeated to Palestine, sent to Foreign Office

"Druse situation quiet. French compelled to [group omitted] Ezra, where reorganisation and reinforcement are taking place. Practicability of sending second column via Deraa and Bosra under consideration

E 4624 357 89]

No. 225.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 6.)

(No. 125.)

Sir,

Damascus, July 25, 1925.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 120 of the 15th instant, I have the honour to report that about the 16th instant Captain Tommy Martin took over the Governorship of the Jebel Druse from Captain Renault, whose removal could hardly be delayed once repression had been decided upon.

Since then all communication has been interrupted between Damascus and the Jebel Druse. The press has been forbidden to publish any news about the mountain.

[14003]

E 4





M Painlevé, for political reasons, dares not, at any rate for the present, recall the general, who is *persona grata* with the Left, and his unwillingness in this respect has been a source of much criticism with the press of the Right have lately been bestowing upon him. However, the present idea is in about two months' time, to endeavour to please both the Right, by the recall of General Sarrail from Syria, and the Left, by that of Marshal Lyautey from Morocco, both being replaced by civilians.

E 4739 357 89]

No 329.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 11.)

(No. 133.)

Sir,

Damascus, July 29 . . .

IN continuation of correspondence ending with my despatch No. 130 of the 27th instant, it is reported that a Druze band made a raid on the Hedjaz Railway between the stations of Dair Ali and Al Misneyyeh (31 and 30 kilom. south of Damascus respectively), destroying part of the rails and a culvert. The train for Deraa which left Damascus yesterday morning had to return owing to the interruption of the line.

French armoured cars were sent out at once, but apparently the band had disappeared. The French at once issued a communiqué to the effect that civilian transport on the line had been suspended owing to the necessities of military transport. The line was, however, quickly repaired, and the train for Deraa left again to-day.

2. The importance of this Druze move, if true, is obvious. The French concentration is taking place at Ezra a station on the Hedjaz line, 91 kilom. south of Damascus. From Ezra there is a good motor road to Soueida. Destructions of the line north of Ezra would of course hamper the concentration and the subsequent advance. It is also reported that the Druzes have done their best to damage the motor road between Ezra and Soueida by destroying bridges and digging trenches, &c.

3. It is reported that the Attrache chiefs, Nasseb, Abdul Ghaffar Pasha and Emir Hamad, have been brought to Damascus (see my despatch No. 120 of the 16th instant). It is also rumoured that the French authorities are trying to negotiate with the rebel leader, Sultan Pasha Attrache, through them and other Druze persons.

4. A proclamation has been scattered from aeroplanes in the Mountain warning the Druzes against following the adventurer, Sultan Pasha Attrache, who, without knowing it, is leading his country to complete ruin, and has been joined by fanatics unable to realise the harm they are doing to their country's welfare. Prompt punishment is announced for the rebels, but pardon is offered to those who have been misled. The proclamation is in very literary Arabic, which will be unintelligible to the Druzes. It shows obvious signs of translation from a French original, and perhaps is the work of an Algerian interpreter, better versed in literary Arabic than most Syrians.

5. French communiqués continue to be threatening, but not very enlightening. To-day's communiqué reveals that the Druzes are making attacks on the citadel of Soueida, where Commandant Tommy Martin is besieged. It is claimed that these attacks have been repulsed with heavy Druze and insignificant French losses. Sultan Pasha's village, Al Qoraya, has been bombed successfully it is claimed.

6. Captain Terrier, head of the Contrôle bedouin, and Nouri Shalaan, chief of the Ruala, have left for Ateiba and Hijaneh, south-east of Damascus whence it is proposed to send a Ruala tribal force against the Mountain from the eastern side. Attempts to enlist irregulars—Circassian in the Deraa region and Kurdish at Damascus—are reported not to have been so far very successful.

7. Christian refugees flocking to Damascus bring harrowing tales of massacre and pillage by the Druzes. These unfortunate Christians, who have lived so long side by side with the Druzes, were not concerned with this conflict between the Druzes and the French. As usual in these countries, an anti-foreign movement, when it reaches a certain stage, inevitably develops into fanatical and murderous violence against all foreigners. The Druzes are being urged to see that their brethren allies were responsible for the wanton attack on harmless Christian villages, but they are being urged to co-operation.

8. The Druze rebellion is of course causing considerable satisfaction in Syria.

The authorities are showing signs of nervousness and police precautions are being multiplied.

It is essential that the French should strike hard and quickly if larger complications are to be avoided. Any serious setback at the beginning would encourage all the many native elements of disaffection. The losses suffered by the tribes and the villages through the severity of the winter (see my despatch No. 47 of the 10th March last), the subsequent drought and the poor harvest in Southern Syria have created much economic suffering, which in such a country tends, even under the most favourable circumstances, to provoke unrest and brigandage. This serious rebellion, if not quickly mastered, will encourage many impoverished tribes and villagers to seize the opportunity for general brigandage.

10. The editors of the Damascus papers have been warned by the delegation that the publication of any news about the rebellion, other than the official communiqués, will involve suppression of the paper concerned and the trial of its editor by court-martial.

I have, &amp;c.

W. A. SMART

E 4781 357 89]

No 330.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 12.)

(No. 135.)

Sir,

Damascus, August 1, 1925.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 133 of the 29th ultimo, I am informed that the French advance from Ezra began yesterday. Forty wounded French Algerian soldiers arrived at the Hedjaz station at Damascus yesterday afternoon.

2. It is reported that the French have scattered proclamations in the Jebel Druze announcing the advance, and warning the inhabitants that shots fired from any village at the troops will involve its total destruction.

3. M. Aubouard, the new French delegate, who called on me yesterday, told me that Commandant Tommy Martin and his garrison in the citadel at Soueida had food and water for a month and that they were in no danger.

4. M. Aubouard also spoke about the frontier question, and expressed the hope that we would do what we could to prevent the rebels finding refuge in our territory. I laid stress on the difficulty in effectively closing a semi-desert frontier, and he seemed to appreciate the difficulty.

5. A detachment of the camel corps has been brought in from Palmyra to participate in the offensive.

6. The Nationalists here have been expecting the proclamation of martial law at Damascus and many of them have scattered to the villages and to the Lebanon in order to avoid giving any opportunity to the authorities to accuse them of sedition. Lutfi Bey Al Haffar, a prominent member of the "Party of People," has been informed that the French are advancing. It is said that the "Party of Unity," in order to ruin its opponents, is trying to persuade the French that the Nationalists are implicated in the Druze rebellion. Notices in pencil were distributed on the 30th instant urging the people to close the bazars on the following day (Friday) and demonstrate in favour of the Druzes. The Nationalists opposed this movement as being useless and harmful.

7. It is said that many of the Druzes have sent their families to Kaara-Azrak for safety.

8. M. Aubouard informed me that the Government had sent 100,000 fr. for the relief of Christian refugees from the Jebel Druze now in the Hauran.

I have, &amp;c.

W. A. SMART.



No 231

Consul General, Beirut, to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 12)

(No. 32)

(Telegraphic.)

Beirut, August 12, 1925

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry—

"French are taking no further offensive action against Druzes for at least ten days."

(Repeated to Palestine.)

E 4815 357 89]

No 232.

Mr. Phipps to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 14)

(No. 1794)

Sir,

Paris, August 13, 1925.

IN my despatches No. 1771 of the 10th August and No. 1783 of the 11th August I had the honour to transmit to you copies of two communiqués issued by the French Government regarding the situation in the Jebel Druze.

2. A more complete statement has now been published by the Government, and I have the honour to enclose a copy of this communiqué<sup>\*</sup> herein. It is stated therein that the total casualties suffered by the French troops in recent disturbances amount to 31 killed and 500 wounded.

3. A communiqué dated 11th August, opening passages of this official communiqué, which gives a short résumé of the history of the Jebel Druze from the time of the assumption of the mandate by the French Government, no mention is made of the fact, so often referred to in reports from His Majesty's consul at Damascus, that the French Government are themselves largely to blame for the present outbreak owing to their continual refusal to appoint a native governor, in spite of their previous undertaking to do so.

4. Although the apprehension which was at first caused by the news, or rather by the lack thereof, from Syria has now died down, there can be little doubt that General Serrail's position has been very considerably shaken. He has of course from the outset been bitterly attacked by the "Écho de Paris" and other organs of the *Bloc national*, but his recent actions in connection with the disturbances in the Jebel Druze and his apparently complete neglect to keep the Metropolitan Government informed of the actual events has met with very severe criticism from all the more moderate newspapers.

5. In a letter addressed to the President of the Council and published in yesterday's newspapers M. Ferry, a *Bloc national* Deputy and former Minister, announced his intention of interpellating the Government on the Syrian question on the reassembling of the Chamber. M. Ferry roundly declares that "General Serrail has by his actions dangerously compromised the prestige of France in the East." From this letter it may be assumed that the Nationalist Opposition intend to press for the recall of the High Commissioner.

6. Finding it somewhat difficult to defend General Serrail's actions on their merits, beyond asserting that both General Gouraud and General Weygand experienced similar troubles in Syria, the organs of the Left are endeavouring to set up an analogy between the events in the Jebel Druze and those which have taken place in Morocco, pointing out that if the Right have grounds for complaint against General Serrail, they have no grounds for complaint against Marshal Lyautey, in their eyes is primarily responsible for the situation in Morocco. It would seem that the French Government intend to be satisfied, Marshal Lyautey must be recalled at the same time.

7. I have been struck by the similarity between Morocco and Syria, some of the newspapers seem to have unnecessarily exaggerated the similarity. It is common knowledge that the events in Syria are connected with those in the latter, and may even be considered as the logical sequence of the latter. A 'premierement'

\* Not printed.

d'Islam' is running through all the nations subjected to Western civilisation. We may therefore draw the conclusion that the Druze revolt has its origin in the success of Abd-el Krim, and, since the prime cause of the Italian success is the failure of Marshal Lyautey, therefore Lyautey is responsible for the failure of Serrail.

8. Such a process of deduction, neglecting the fact that the Druzes are not, properly speaking, Moslems (see "Peace Handbook" No. 60, p. 49) and live in comparative isolation, and ignoring the fact that the Druzes, a subject race, are in revolt on account of their misgovernment by the French, while Abd-el Krim, an independent power, in fact if not in theory, deliberately attacked the French and invaded their protectorate, is not convincing. It may, however, suffice to mislead public opinion.

I have, &c.

ERIC PHIPPS.

No 233

Consul General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 14)

(No. 33)

(Telegraphic.)

Beirut, August 14, 1925.

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry—

"It is reported that ~~the following individuals~~ Transjordanians have promised to co-operate with Druzes and advance on Deraa: Mekal Paaha El (Tajer, Adis el Kurish, Mendaour Benadid)

(Repeated to Palestine.)

No 234

Consul General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 17)

(No. 34)

(Telegraphic.)

Beirut, August 17, 1925.

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry—

"French still endeavouring to settle Druze trouble amicably. Rebels yesterday handed over one French officer prisoner and fifty-three men. Rebels no longer firing at French aeroplanes."

(Repeated to Palestine.)

E 4900 357 89

No 235

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 17)

(No. 137)

Sir,

Damascus, August 5, 1925.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 126 of the 20th ultimo, I have the honour to report that M. Aubouard, the new French delegate, who arrived here recently, paid me his formal visit on the 31st ultimo, and I returned his call to-day.

2. M. Aubouard's attitude was extremely friendly and apparently frank. I expressed my satisfaction at the opportunity of meeting the French representative who had existed between us at Beirut, and my conviction that our relations at Damascus would be equally satisfactory. He replied that he was sure that they would be, and he added that he would do what he could to please me. He gave me the impression of being anxious to dispel the clouds of his predecessor's régime.

3. I took the opportunity to express the hope that he would not believe all the stories told him by native mischief makers, whose object was to disunite us for their own ends. Many Arabs, who were among the supporters of the Fesalian régime here and adversaries of France, had sometimes to come to the consulate on business connected with their friends or material interests in Irak, in Transjordan and Palestine. Often

they merely came to facilitate the issue of visas to acquaintances of theirs. The Consul, however, that such casual business visits were represented by native agents as being of political significance. I could assure him that such was not the case, and that when any such visitors spoke against France I was always careful to contradict them. He could count on me never to do anything to make things more difficult for the French. I had been Francophile before the *Entente cordiale* and was still Francophile now that, unfortunately, the *Entente* was perhaps a little less cordial than formerly. Apart from this aspect of personal sympathy, I was convinced that, whatever might be the case elsewhere, the interests of our two countries here were absolutely identical. In conclusion, I begged him to speak to me frankly whenever people told him any stories about me or the consulate. I was sure that I could in every case clear up any possible misunderstandings.

4. M. Aubouard thanked me for my assurances, and said that, from what he had heard about me from Mr. Satiw, he was sure he could count on me. He accepted my suggestion, and would speak to me frankly whenever any stories against me were brought to him. He finally volunteered to give me information of general interest which such was in his possession.

5. It might be said that I ought not of course to be given to conventional exchanges of views on such matters of official relations. No doubt, too, M. Aubouard will be needed by the old anti-British personnel of the delegation. Yet my first contact here with M. Aubouard has left on me a hopeful impression. His apparent frankness was, anyhow, a very pleasant change from his predecessor's attitude. For instance, he spoke to me about French difficulties in the Druse

talking to another taken for granted to be on his side. I was almost from M. Schœffer's conversation, even in cases when he knew quite well that I was wholeheartedly co-operating with him. It is too much to hope that M. Aubouard will remain immune from that anti-British bias which is so particularly characteristic of French officialdom at Damascus. I have hopes, however, that he will never allow this

production. I will, of course, endeavour from my side to facilitate this return to a more normal state of affairs by discreetly offering myself as far as is consistent with

possible for hostile outbreaks. I would, however, like to emphasize one point, namely, that the condition of Anglo-French relations at Damascus is powerfully determined by what is done in our adjoining mandated territories. No efforts of mine are of any use, for instance, against such incidents as the raids of Transjordanian bands into Syria last summer. I sometimes doubt whether our mandatory authorities fully realized the French bitterness provoked by these incidents. If, therefore, it is the desire of His Majesty's Government that friendly Anglo-French relations should be maintained at Damascus, Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq, and the inevitable reactions here of anything done in those

most French interests in Syria. It is not at all a

W. A. SMART

(E 4898 357/89)

No. 236.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 18.)

(No. 138.)

Sir,

Damascus, August 5, 1925.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 135 of the 1st instant, I regret to have to report that the French advance from Ezra has, for the moment, ended in a most unfortunate failure.

The expeditionary force apparently advanced without opposition to Beir al H. year's drought, the springs of this village, as is the case in many other villages of the

Hauran and the Jebel Druse, have entirely dried up. Incidentally, it is to be noticed that the unusual water conditions of this rainless year are, in the whole of this region, exceptionally unfavourable for military operations. The French accordingly had to advance to the spring known as "Ain Kenes," about two-thirds of the way from Ezra to Beir al H. I understand from M. Aubouard, the French delegate, that the Syrian Legion, in the vanguard, was seized with panic and fled. Owing to this initial disaster the French were apparently unable to capture and hold this essential water-point. Consequently, owing to lack of water behind the force, General Michaud ordered a general retreat to Ezra. (Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain, August 17, 1925.)

3. It is to be feared that Soueida may have fallen, or, anyhow, be in serious difficulties. M. Aubouard has not yet received news of Commandant Toramy Martin, the commander of the small garrison, with whom hitherto wireless connection had been maintained.

4. The effect of this reverse on the native allies of the French is bound to be very adverse. Already the desertion of a few Druses in the Syrian Legion stationed at Kuneitra is reported. The news of the defeat has of course created a stir at Damascus.

5. It would, however, invite a reference to the 9th paragraph of my despatch No. 135 of the 29th ultimo. It is now more than ever necessary that the French should take rapid and vigorous measures to retrieve the situation and thus give no time to the numerous disaffected elements to raise their heads in town, countryside and desert. Unfortunately there are not wanting signs of French irresolution. Attempts at negotiation with the rebels are still being made (see the 3rd paragraph of my despatch No. 133 of the 29th ultimo). Abdul Ghaffar Pasha Attache has been sent by the French for this purpose to the present Druse military headquarters at Sijn, near the scene of the French reverse. Druse notables from the Lebanon have come here and left for the Mountain on a mission of conciliation. The press bureau has issued a communiqué to the effect that certain Druse chiefs have expressed the wish to open negotiations, and that probably some general political changes will take place in the Jebel Druse. This policy of negotiation, after a military reverse, can only be interpreted as weakness, and will encourage the rebels in their resistance.

6. The French are said to be trying to retain the loyalty of the Hauran sheikhs by granting now the wide remissions of taxation and the subsidies recently refused (see my despatch No. 119 of the 15th ultimo). It is also said that the sheikhs have been offered a considerable sum of money to send an irregular force to co-operate in the campaign against the Druses.

I have, &c.

W. A. SMART

No. 237

Mr. Phipps to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 15.)

(No. 288.)

(Telegraphic)

[By Bag]

17/8/25

INQUIRED to-day of the Political Director of the Quai d'Orsay whether the "Daily Mail" reports in regard to peace in Syria were well founded. M. Laroche replied that they were, and that the Druses had already begun to return their prisoners to the French.

(E 4920 357/89)

No. 238.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 19.)

(No. 139.)

Sir,

Damascus, August 6, 1925.

WITH reference to the first paragraph of my despatch No. 130 of the 27th ultimo and the seventh paragraph of my despatch No. 138 of the 29th ultimo, I have the honour to report that three Protestant refugees from the Christian village of Khiraba, in the extreme south-west of the Jebel Druse, came to the consulate to-day in the hope of obtaining some relief. I referred them to the Irish Presbyterian Mission



2 They appeared to be intelligent persons and they gave me some interesting details of the beginnings of hostilities in the Jebel Druse.

3. After the arrival of Commandant Tommy Martin (see my despatch No. 128 of the 25th ultimo), a detachment of about ninety men, thirty of whom were Druse gendarmes and the remainder Algerian soldiers under French officers, was despatched from Soueida to reinforce the southern French post of Salkhad, which was in charge of a French lieutenant. At Kafar, halfway between Soueida and Salkhad, the detachment halted for the midday meal at a spring. Assad Murshid, the Sheikh of Kafar, came out to welcome the soldiers and insisted on providing a meal for them. Three large trays of "burghul," a staple Arab dish, were placed by his men at the spring, and the soldiers gathered round them to eat. When they were thus conveniently concentrated, the Druses, who had taken up positions of advantage all round, opened fire on the unsuspecting group. The Druse gendarmes, with one exception, deserted the French to join their kinsmen, but were mostly shot by the soldiers before getting away. The Algerian soldiers, however, fought bravely and killed many Druses, including Mustafa Bey and Ali Bey, brother and cousin respectively of Sultan Pasha Attarache. However, taken at such an obvious disadvantage, the soldiers were all killed, except about ten who managed to escape. Two French officers were among the killed.

4. Three days later Haman Bey, son of Yahia Pasha Attarache, came to the village of Kharaba with three horsemen and told the Christians that they had nothing to fear. Nevertheless, shortly afterwards a mixed force of Druses and Bedouins attacked the village. The villagers, fearing that, if they killed any Druses, retaliation would be severe, tried to keep the assailants off by firing over their heads. At last, the whole party fled. Only four Christians, two men and two women, were killed.

5. The French lieutenant with his few men at Salkhad managed to escape in time, but his dragoon was killed. The only other French post in the mountain, viz., Shaliba, in the north, was also evacuated in time.

6. The Druses asked the sheikhs of Beni Eski Sham to surrender that place to them, but the sheikhs refused.

I have, &c.  
W. A. SMART

No. 239

Mr Phipps to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 19)

No. 239)  
(Telegraphic)

[By Bag.]

Paris, August 19, 1925

I CONVEYED to the President of the Council this afternoon the message of Mr Phipps, and to assure you that he had much appreciated the attitude of the authorities and troops in the British mandated territories neighbouring on Syria.

2. M. Painlevé told me confidentially that in his opinion there had been grave carelessness on the part of the French military authorities in leaving the convoy so far behind the troops. He added that, although General Sarrail had not reported the incident, he had heard from other sources that half a dozen French aeroplanes which had flown low to the rescue of the convoy had been shot down. I enquired whether the peace negotiations with the Druses were proceeding satisfactorily, and M. Painlevé replied that in the case of certain Druse families they were, and he hoped that pacification would soon be completed without any loss of French prestige.

E 5020 357, 89.

No. 240

General General Satow to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 21.)

No. 107. Confidential.)

Sir,

Beirut, August 7, 1925.

THE following information regarding the position in Jebel Druse is taken from a report have been sent by him to the Air Ministry, Cairo, Jerusalem, Bagdad and Aleppo.

2. By the evening of the 30th July there were concentrated at Ezraa on the Damascus-Deraa Railway five battalions of infantry, three squadrons of cavalry, two battalions of mounted rifles, and a detachment of armoured cars. This concentration was covered by a battalion south-east of the village of Busr-al-Haridi, which is 7 miles east-south-east of Ezraa, and was in contact with the enemy. According to the information available, the enemy, while dispersed in small bands all over the country, had organised a fairly strong defensive position 2 or 3 miles south-east of the village named.

3. The column, composed of three battalions, with cavalry on the flanks and armoured cars and artillery well in the rear, advanced on the 31st July. The two objectives were Busr-al-Haridi and the water-point of Al-Mezran, 7 miles north-west of Soueida.

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6. The French command has had to contend with unexpectedly great difficulties. The main problem is that of water. The country is unusually dry this year, and the carefully prepared water arrangements have proved inadequate. Water is not available in the country, and the troops have suffered intensely from the great heat in a country where there is no shade. In some cases men were practically unable to move after a few hours in the field. The country is difficult in that the numerous small rocks and boulders offer great shelter to snipers. Armoured cars are of little use off the roads and tracks. So many men are required for lines of communication purposes as to handicap seriously the fighting force.

7. Major Salisbury-Jones adds that the French authorities appear to be very grateful for our co-operation on the Transjordan front. There are naturally rumours as to the future of the British mandate, but the former friendship with the British is not forgotten. We do all we can here to combat the idea, and I think that all reasonable Frenchmen understand that we have nothing to do with the matter and do not take the suggestions too seriously.

8. There is a certain uneasiness here about the situation, and undoubtedly the rising could not have occurred at a worse time of year. Yesterday a new battalion of Algerian troops arrived and further reinforcements are expected.

I have, &c.  
H. E. SATOW

No. 241

General-General, Beirut, to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 24)

(No. 35)  
(Telegraphic.)

Beirut, August 24, 1925

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry:—

"High Commissioner informs me 700 mounted Beni Sak[er] and Beni Hassan have crossed frontier. If confirmed, urgently request every possible step be taken to prevent further crossing of frontier. The situation is very serious existing here. Above already reported in conflict with French High Commissioner still vaguely hoping for peaceful settlement. General opinion here very strong in favour of dealing with the situation by force. Expect at once to prevail. Total reinforcements promised by 30th August are 5 battalions of infantry, 2 squadrons of cavalry, 1 company of tanks, 18 aeroplanes. Uncertain whether other units will follow later to complete division. Column cannot start [1] or at least [1] three days. Request that you inform me if any action taken."

(Repeated to Palestine)

[14003]

No 242

*Consul General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 26.)*

(No. 36)

(Telegraphic)

*Beirut, August 26, 1925*

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry

"Fighting took place 24th August 5 miles south-east of Damascus between French cavalry and 500 Druses and Bedouins. French affirm that Transjordanian Bedouins identified among them. Rebels driven off. Considerable panic at Damascus. Enquiring other dates, &c."

(Repeated to Palestine)

E 4900 357 89]

No 243.

*Foreign Office to Consul Smart (Damascus).*

(No. 39.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, August 27, 1925*

I AM directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 137 of the 25th August relative to your interviews with M. Anhouard, the new French delegate at Damascus.

Mr. Chamberlain approves your language and attitude on this occasion, which in my opinion should wish you to continue. There is a very cordial understanding and hearty co-operation between the Governments of Paris and London at the present time, and Mr. Chamberlain hopes that these happy relations between the two Governments will in time improve the atmosphere at Damascus.

I am, &amp;c.

THOMAS SPRING RICE

[E 5176 357 89]

No. 244.

*Mr. Phipps to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 31.)*

(No. 40.)

Sir,

*Paris, August 29, 1925.*

WITH reference to correspondence ending with my despatch No. 144 of the 12th instant regarding the Druse rebellion, I have the honour to inform you that little or no news of importance concerning the revolt in the Jebel Druse has recently appeared in the Paris newspapers. From the scanty articles and messages which have appeared in the press during the last ten days the casual reader might have imagined that the trouble in Syria had practically died down, and that the French authorities had the situation well in hand. This complacent attitude has been rudely disturbed by the recent articles in the London newspapers taking a much more gloomy view of the situation, and suggesting the possibility of still more serious trouble to come.

No doubt with a view to dissipating the apprehensions thus caused, M. Painlevé, at the termination of the Cabinet Council held on the 27th August, issued a statement regarding the actual position in Syria. As you will observe in this statement, of which I have the honour to enclose the text,\* the President of the Council announced that he had received no fresh news from General Sarrail, and warned the French public of the danger of attributing too much importance to rumours coming from British sources.

3. This declaration of M. Painlevé has, however, by no means satisfied the Paris newspapers, and both the "Echo de Paris" and the "Avenir" attack the Government once again, accusing them of wilfully concealing information from the public. Yesterday's papers also contain a Havas communiqué purporting to emanate from Beirut, but which is manifestly untrue. A copy of this communiqué is transmitted herewith.\* It is interesting to note that a considerable portion thereof is taken up by a defence of Captain Carbillot and by an endeavour to fix the blame for the revolt not upon him, but upon the Druses themselves. It is of further interest to observe that it is stated that both Turkish and Russian propaganda are active in Syria at the present time.

\* Not printed.

4. So far no allusions have been made in the newspapers to the attacks which have recently been made upon the French by natives from Transjordan (see Beirut telegram No. 33), and no hostile criticism has yet been levelled against His Majesty's Government on this score.

I have, &amp;c.

ERIC PHIPPS.

E 5252 357 89]

No. 245.

*Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 2.)*

(No. 151)

Sir,

*Damascus, August 21, 1925*

WITH reference to correspondence ending with my despatch No. 144 of the 12th instant regarding the Druse rebellion, I have the honour to report that the past ten days have been in the nature of an interlude, during which peace negotiations have been continuing and some French reinforcements arriving. An exchange of prisoners has been effected. The Druse sheikhs imprisoned at Hasehieh and Palmyra were brought to Damascus, whence most of them, with those detained here, were sent back to the mountain in return for the French military captured during the recent hostilities.

2. It is reported that civilian traffic on the railway from Beirut to Damascus and Damascus to Deram is to be suspended for some time during the movement of the larger reinforcements now arrived at Beirut.

3. The local impression is that the peace negotiations are unlikely to be successful.

4. A troublesome feature of the situation is the inevitable appearance of bands of marauders in the neighbourhood of Damascus. These bands are reported to consist of many kinds—Druses, Bedouins, villagers, deserters from the Syrian Legion, bad characters from the towns. The universal misery, caused by the present disastrous economic situation, a picture of which is summarily presented in the enclosed despatch to the Department of Overseas Trade, is every day being more and more evident. These bands are now well represented in the immediate neighbourhood of Damascus. One such band recently attacked at Merjanah, a village about 10 miles from Damascus, a General Sarrail's aide-de-camp, the "Comte du Levant," who, with his aide-de-camp, Captain de Goutel, and a Circassian gendarme, was motoring from Damascus to Ezra on an inspection trip. General Sarrail received three wounds, apparently slight, in the arm and legs, but one of Captain de Goutel's arms was so badly fractured by bullets that it is not certain whether he will be able to walk. The deserter was killed. The Circassian gendarme was severely wounded and is recovering. The party returned to Damascus by train, and was fortunate enough to meet a train coming from Deram, which took them all to Damascus. The inhabitants of Merjanah participated in the attack, and this small village has been partially destroyed by the French. A number of the villagers were killed. It is said that this village belongs to two Damascene families, members of which took part in the recent agitation in the town (see paragraph 7 of my despatch No. 144 of the 12th instant). It is even rumoured that the Druse rebels, who are reported to have organised the attack, had the village at the time.

5. Suleiman, Ibn Saud's representative here, declares that the attack was put up by Nouri Shalman, the Kula chief. Suleiman says that he has knowledge of treasonable letters written by Nouri to the Druse rebels, and that he hopes to be able to get hold of these letters and give them to the French delegation.

6. Whatever may be the ultimate facts of the case, it is certain that this attack was premeditated, and that news must have been given beforehand from Damascus of the general's trip.

7. Conflicts are recurring between Christians and Druses in the villages on the western slopes of Mount Hermon, and, according to press report, considerable savagery is now characterising these hostilities.

8. It is reported that the Syrian Legion and the Camel Corps. Of the former three, according to this report, were killed and seven wounded.

[14008]

12



9. Amir Said Jezairi, who has just returned from Palestine, where he had been yesterday and expressed himself in very pessimistic terms. He said that a band of 200 strong had appeared at Sehnayya and Ashrafeyeh, two adjoining villages with mixed Druse-Christian population, about 9 miles south of Damascus and near one of the Amir's farms. He was sure that, if Druse bands in any strength approached Damascus, they would be joined by all the surrounding villagers and could easily effect an entrance into the town, on the co-operation of which they could count. The French troops, in the midst of a hostile population, were not sufficient to preserve order.

10. The French authorities are taking steps to organise a voluntary policing of the different quarters by their own inhabitants in case of an emergency. I think that all this pessimism is exaggerated and can only be justified on the assumption that the French conduct of the political and military situation is in the future to be as incoherent as in the past.

11. To the layman, a weakness in the military situation seems to be that the northern approaches to the mountain as well as the inaccessible, brigand infested Leja are not covered by any military force. It is indeed surprising that bands have been able to move freely between Damascus and the French offensive base at Ezra. This failure seems to indicate lack of any offensive organisation among the rebels.

12. Another danger to be considered is that of the numerous ex-officers of the Turkish army living at Damascus, discontented with their inadequate pensions. It is rumoured that a number of them have proceeded to the mountain. Obviously, these officers would be a dangerous organising element among the unorganised but courageous Druses. The above mentioned reports may largely, however, be only anticipations of possibilities. The Druses have captured French artillery armoured cars, machine-guns and ammunition. If even one or two artillery officers had gone among them, it seems unlikely that some sort of a bombardment of the Sueida citadel would not have been attempted. Hitherto the citadel has been impregnable, because the Druses have only been able to attack with rifle fire.

13. One factor in favour of the French is that the Druses are not popular among the Moslems or Christians. The sympathy for the Druses at present shown by the population is solely caused by antipathy to France. The Hauranis are almost hostile to the Druses, whom they accuse of having refused to help the Hauran during the rebellion of 1920 against the French. This Haurani hostility to the Druses is invaluable to the French, and without it they would hardly have kept open the railway to Deraa.

14. Captain Huguenet, the administrative adviser to the Hauran, has, according to the press, been removed from his post. It is said that he ordered all French women to leave Deraa for Damascus, and that General Sarrail was irritated by this action, which naturally encouraged native doubts as to the solidity of the French position.

15. With reference to the tenth paragraph of my despatch No. 144 of the 12th July, I have to report that the accused, mostly youths, were sent as prisoners to Damascus.

16. While my personal impression still is that, except in the case of another unsuccessful French offensive, no upheaval need be anticipated at Damascus, I think that a satisfactory liquidation of the present situation will be extremely difficult. Peace by negotiation can only be purchased at a great sacrifice of French prestige. A settlement by war is by no means easy. Even supposing that the difficulties of moving large columns across the waterless regions on the Ezra-Sueida and the Deraa-Bosra-Eski Sham lines can be overcome and the mountain successfully entered, there will remain the problem of an inevitable and arduous guerrilla warfare in a sparsely watered mountainous region, every bit of which is well-known to the enemy, who, being desperate, can hardly avoid fighting to the bitter end. Whatever may be the issue of the peace negotiations or the military operations, one result of the present revolt seems certain, namely, that France will, for a considerable time, have to keep in Southern Syria an army of occupation considerably larger than she has had here for many years. This result is attributable to the brigandage, tribal unruliness, turbulence among the starving villagers, political agitation among the distressed townsmen.

17. It is, anyhow, earnestly to be hoped that there will be no more insufficient military preparation or offensives with inadequate troops. Another defeat as complete as the last could hardly fail to have grave consequences for France in Syria. I have, &c.

W. A. SMART

Enclosure in No. 245.

Consul Smart to Department of Overseas Trade

(O.T. No. 38.)

Sir,

Damascus, August 17, 1925

IN continuation of correspondence ending with my despatch O.T. No. 20 of the 7th May last regarding agricultural prospects in my consular district, I have the honour to report that the general economic situation has now become much worse than anticipated.

2. The harvest in the Hauran proved to be an almost total failure owing to the lack of rain. Whole villages had to be abandoned by their inhabitants owing to drying up of wells and springs. A commission was sent to investigate the situation and made recommendations for rather inadequate remissions of taxes. However, the Druse revolt inspired the French authorities to grant not only large remissions of taxation, but even considerable subsidies to the Hauranis, in order to encourage them to refuse their co-operation to the rebels. Moreover, a moratorium has been granted to many villages in the Hauran.

3. In the plain of Damascus the lack of water has been unprecedented and the crops are greatly under the average. Moreover, a very severe and unusually late frost has been experienced. The apricot trees, which provide important exports for Damascus, in the form of dried apricots, apricot seeds and apricot paste. The encroachments of the nomads on the cultivated areas east of Damascus have been greater than in previous years owing, no doubt, to the losses suffered by the Bedouin during the severe winter, and the cultivators have lost heavily through the consumption of their produce by tribal herds of camels and flocks of sheep.

4. It had been anticipated that the harvest in the regions of Homs and Hama would be good owing to the heavy late rains. Unfortunately, an insect pest, known as "mouch" in Arabic, is said to have destroyed a considerable portion of the cereal crops in those regions.

5. On the top of these successive disasters came the Druse rebellion, which has had a serious economic repercussion on Damascus. It is the custom of Damascene merchants to make advances to the cultivators on the crops of the Hauran and the Jebel Druse. For the reasons stated above, only a small part of the total advances, reckoned at £T 100,000 gold, to the Hauran will be recovered this year. About £T 200,000 gold have been advanced to the Jebel Druse, and, unless peace be quickly made, none of that will be recovered this year.

6. A serious factor in the economic situation is the depreciation of the Syrian paper currency, i.e., depreciated paper currency based on the franc, closure of Anatolian banks, and the local industries owing to their having been supplanted, especially in Egypt, by industries created by war needs in countries having then no access to Damascus, &c. The bazars are quite inactive, and banks are severely restricting credit and discount operations. At a meeting of merchants under the auspices of the Damascus Chamber of Commerce suggestions were made for a moratorium. However, the leading merchants vigorously opposed a measure so disastrous to Damascus credit. It was finally arranged that a deputation of the chamber should visit the principal bankers and beg them to be lenient at this critical moment in claiming their dues. The vice-president of the chamber told me that the bankers had returned favourable replies to this request. Nevertheless, it is feared that a number of bankruptcies are likely in the near future. Suggestions have been made for a restriction of "superfluous" imports, with a view to correcting the unfavourable trade balance.

7. The present situation, the fear of a further deterioration, and the use of the *masse de manœuvre* at the disposal of the French Government through the Morgan loan, a further fall may presumably be expected when these funds are exhausted. Although the effective currency of Syria is Turkish gold and silver, yet there is, of course, a considerable amount of Syrian paper in circulation, and its

presence in the country is bound to involve disastrous losses in the event of further depreciation of the franc.

8. British exporters doing business with Southern Syria would be well advised to exercise the utmost caution in granting any credit during the present financial stringency and commercial depression at Damascus.

I have &c  
W A SMART

E 5273/357 89]

No 246

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain,--(Received September 3.)

(No. 153. Confidential.)

Sir,

Damascus, August 25, 1925.

1. In continuation of correspondence ending with my despatch No. 151 of the 14th instant regarding the Druze revolt, I have the honour to report that the last three days have been characterised by another panic at Damascus greater even than that described in my despatch No. 144 of the 12th instant.

2. According to reports received by me, mixed Druze-Bedoun bands captured the gendarmerie posts at Hejanch and Bouweida south-east of Damascus, though M. Aubouard, the French delegate, denies that such is the case. Anyhow, I am inclined to think that attacks, probably successful, were made on those posts, though possibly the enemy retired after their raids.

3. Another band appeared in the neighbourhood of Salnaya and Ashrafiyyeh, and 600 Spahis were sent out to the Merdan (southern) entrance of the town and they were encamped there all yesterday.

4. Another Druze-Bedoun band appeared in the gardens south-east of Damascus, and was defeated by three squadrons of Spahis sent against it and is now being pursued. M. Aubouard mentioned to me that these were Transjordanian Bedoun in this band. I was informed from other sources that the Beni Sakhr are co-operating with the Druzes.

5. It would appear that certain Nationalist notables of Damascus with a number of Armenians, who issued from the town separately and collected in the gardens outside, co-operated with this Druze-Bedoun band, and there seems really to have been a design to attack the town. No doubt it was hoped that once fighting began in the town enough pugnacious elements would be found within the town to cause a general upheaval.

6. I understand that the starting point of this mixed force was Nabja, about 20 miles south-east of Damascus.

7. Fighting of some kind seems to have been taking place around Kiswah. The Red Cross ambulance appears to be going to the Damascus station every evening for wounded.

8. Yesterday barbed-wire entanglements were drawn across the eastern and south-eastern entrances to the town, across the principal square of the city so as to block the approach to the Government buildings, and at other points. M. Aubouard told me that the entanglement in the principal square had been erected owing to a misunderstanding by a subordinate officer and was to be removed. It was, in fact, removed about 8 P.M. yesterday.

9. Almost every quarter was occupied by detachments of French troops yesterday evening, and some mitrailleuses were in evidence.

10. M. Aubouard informed me shortly before 8 P.M. yesterday evening that the Christian and Jewish quarters, where are resident English missionary ladies, were unequally guarded by French troops. He said that there were now 3,600 French troops in the town, and he assured me that there was no danger for British subjects. He repeated a previous assurance, namely, that I would be the first to be warned of any danger.

11. Just before my interview with him I had received a verbatim account of a telephone conversation of M. Aubouard with the French High Commission at Beirut. M. Aubouard, in reply to an enquiry as to the situation in the town, told his chiefs that he was confident that the situation was under control, and that as I had previously reported, he is so far dealing frankly with me, at least, as far as inevitable military

reticence will permit. In reply to an enquiry from the High Commission, M. Aubouard on the telephone said that Sulha Bey, the President of Syria, had gone to the Lebanon, but that he (M. Aubouard) was in touch with Nasri Bey Rikhhash, the unpopular Christian Minister of the Interior. I need hardly insist on this characteristic behaviour of this rather pitiful nonentity, who was no doubt gambling at the Sofar Casino while a general panic was reigning at the capital of the State of which he is the nominal President.

12. Finally, M. Aubouard, in his telephone message, said that he was detaining in the town, with General Michaud's concurrence, some French troops from Beirut on their way to the front.

13. The bazaars, of course, became alarmed again, and towards evening yesterday the merchants began to remove their valuables to their houses. This morning the town was again in a state of alarm.

14. All French officers in local commands have been at their posts all night since the 22nd instant.

15. The Nationalists are undoubtedly working for a revolution here. The plan is to count on assistance from Rakabi Pasha and Transjordanian tribes.

16. An American lady in close contact with the Nationalists was advised by them to pack up her valuables and go to the house of one of her Nationalist friends when the revolt broke out.

17. It is said that Rashid Bey Tali'a, the Druze Minister of the Interior, and Inter Governor of Aleppo during the Feasahan regime, has returned from his Egyptian exile and is now in the mountains organising the Druzes. A number of the machisvoun Syrian exiles whom we removed last year from Emir Abdullah's court are said also to have gone to the mountains.

18. I am also informed that the rebels are in communication with the Metash of the Buqa' (see the fifth paragraph of my despatch No. 141 of the 7th instant), and that a cutting of the railway communication with Beirut is being actively planned.

19. I confess that I am astonished by French nervousness. I have been on various scenes of Asiatic disorders, and seldom have I on such occasions observed in the native features of the situation less cause for alarm than in the present trouble. Unfortunately, it is the French themselves who give the signal for alarm. For instance, all this ostentatious and ineffective throwing of barbed wire about the town was in itself enough to make everyone think that the French were thoroughly frightened, and, indeed, there is no doubt that they are afraid. To mention another characteristic instance of their timidity, an Englishman who has recently come here on business from the north met a responsible French official of the delegation, with whom he had been on friendly terms elsewhere. The French official asked him why he was lingering here at such a time and advised him to clear out unless he was detained by urgent business. The Englishman said that he had seen me and that I had told him of the French delegation's promise to warn me of any danger. The French official asked what the delegation could tell me in such an uncertain situation, full of possible danger, which, however, might not mature. The Englishman asked what would be done with the European civilians in case of an upheaval. The French official replied that they would be escorted to Beirut by armoured cars.

20. Although there has not yet been another spectacular feminine exodus, a number of Frenchwomen are quietly slipping off to the coast.

21. I remain convinced that, although the ultimate liquidation of this disastrous rebellion is bound to be extremely difficult, the situation at Damascus can be easily controlled by skilful and resolute handling. The real danger, to my mind, does not lie in Druze and Bedoun hordes or in nationalist revolutionaries, but in French demoralisation. There is evidently no confidence in General Sarrail, and French officials here allow themselves to use extraordinarily abusive language about their chief. Obviously such lack of confidence does not make for a resolute bearing towards a universally hostile population. It requires little knowledge of the East to realise the danger of any irresolution in handling excitable and impressionable Orientals during times of unrest.

22. In view of the present indications of Transjordanian co-operation with the rebels, I venture to renew the warnings contained in the fourth paragraph of my despatch No. 130 of the 27th ultimo and the last part of the fifth paragraph of my despatch No. 137 of the 5th instant. It is being said in Damascus, and by persons not badly informed, that the Government of Transjordan is closing its eyes to the help



given to the rebels by Transjordanian elements. The peculiarly intimate and privileged relations of the Beni Sakhr with Emir Abdullah are notorious. It will be difficult to persuade the French that without his complicity these tribesmen would join the rebels.

I have, &c.  
W. A. SMART.

No. 247

Consul-General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 4.)

(No. 30.)

(Telegraphic.)

Beirut, September 4, 1925

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry.—

General Michaud rebuffed by Gamelin, who made his reputation at the battle of the Marne on the Commander-in-chief's staff. Understand this action taken by Paris without consulting High Commissioner.

(Repeated to Palestine.)

No. 248

Consul Smart (No. 8) to High Commissioner, Baghdad.—(Repeated to Foreign Office, Received September 9.)

(No. 9.)

(Telegraphic.)

Damascus, September 8, 1925

FOUR Nairn cars without passengers, which left Bagdad 7th September without my knowledge and without any escort having been arranged here, were attacked this morning 84 miles from Damascus. Leading car escaped and brought the news to Damascus. French have sent aeroplane and soldiers in two cars to find the missing cars. No British cars should start before escorts are arranged here.

(Repeated to Beirut, No. 5.)

No. 249

Consul Smart (No. 10) to High Commissioner, Baghdad.—(Repeated to Foreign Office, Received September 9.)

(No. 10.)

(Telegraphic.)

Damascus, September 8, 1925

My telegram No. 8.

All chauffeurs arrived at Damascus stripped, but unwounded, in one of the less damaged cars. Other two cars to be towed in to-morrow under escort.

(Repeated to Beirut, No. 7.)

E 5450 357 89}

No. 250.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 10.)

(No. 158.)

Sir,

Damascus, August 29, 1925

I HAVE the honour to report that I have received from a moderate Nationalist and a member of one of the chief families of Damascus the following account of the unsuccessful offensive against Damascus reported in my despatch No. 153 of the 25th instant, and of Nationalist views regarding the future.—

"The Druses had agreed to attack the town, on the understanding that 500 Damascenes would join them outside. On the day appointed only 100 Damascenes under Colonel Ze'bi Bey Droubi, Yahia Bey Hayati and members of the Tellou family, joined the Druse Bedouin force of 1,000 men, which, relying

on the agreement mentioned, had arrived in the gardens immediately south-east of the town. The Druse leaders asked the Damascenes why they had not kept their word and come out strong. While a none too amicable argument was in progress, French aeroplanes appeared on the scene and began to bomb the town. The Druses and Damascenes fled, and the French entered the town, which put to flight the whole invading force. One of the Tellou family was killed.

This, however, will not be the end of the story. Committees are actively working in the town to bring about concerted action between the Damascenes and the Druses and Bedouin. Unfortunately, certain elements are also working with the Turks. Most Nationalists, however, are of the opinion that Aleppo and Alexandretta, economically ruined by the Turkish occupation, would oppose a Turkish occupation, but their resistance would be easily overcome by the Turks. The result of assistance from Turkey would be the renewed subjection of the whole country to Turkish domination, which would be more disastrous than the French.

"In their perplexity the Nationalists would like to turn to England, but they are equally fearful of the results of English intervention. On no account do they want to find themselves overwhelmed by Jews, as their brethren in Palestine. Moreover, England's recent policy towards her old Sherifian allies inspires doubts as to how far she can be trusted to keep to any engagements.

"In view of these unpleasant prospects, many Nationalists were inclined to think that their best course would be to profit by the present situation to negotiate with the French and obtain substantial concessions."

2. There is no doubt that men's minds at Damascus are being exercised by what is to happen if the French decide to retire to the coastal regions, i.e. to the Latakia-Mawite rampart. Another leading Nationalist and notable seriously asked me for advice as to what the Arabs should do when the French left Damascus. Among the French themselves I have noticed much depression and uncertainty. A few evenings ago the French delegate M. Aubouard, evidently worried, spoke to me very gloomily about the situation. He said that he would not be surprised if brigandage were to start on the Damascus-Beirut road. He was uncertain whether the camel corps patrols could be sufficiently ubiquitous to protect the Bagdad routes completely. He spoke dolefully of the French loss of material in the hostilities up to date, and he valued it at 50 million francs. Nothing, he continued, could be recovered from the Druses, who were in possession of little but sterile rocks. The whole system of the mandate, he thought, was costly and unsatisfactory. He concluded by saying that he much regretted his quiet post at Lattaquieh.

3. The coastal mentality and is probably more easily depressed than are those who, by long inland experience, have become healthily sceptical of Oriental dangers, always threatening but rarely maturing, even in the midst of a hostile, fanatical population and remote from Western succour. But his pessimism seems to be shared by other and older hands. As, from the local factors visible, this pessimism appears to be exaggerated, I cannot help thinking that it is caused by some knowledge of limitations of help from France. I confess that I myself was somewhat disconcerted on hearing from the British liaison officer that the promised reinforcement of a "division" (see the sixth paragraph of my despatch No. 144 of the 12th instant) was turning out to be only about 4,000 men. This force is obviously inadequate.

4. The present French régime in Syria appears to be so unrepresentative of France that its humours are perhaps less significant than might be thought. It is the trend of public opinion in France which would seem to require careful watching during the next few months. If France wants to restore her position in Syria she must have an occupying force of at least 25,000 men for the interior alone. If the French people are not ready to shoulder this military burden there may be some justification for the pessimism of Frenchmen at Damascus.

5. I need hardly insist on our interests in a continued French occupation of Syria. It is not with our present forces in Palestine and Transjordan that we would be able to hold these countries or maintain the Zionist policy, once Damascus was evacuated by France and had become inevitably an imposing centre of attraction to the southern lands from which it was artificially separated. Moreover, all the

Arabian hostility now concentrated against France would be diverted to us, once the French had disappeared from the scene. Whether Turkish or Arabian, Syria without the French would necessitate a reconsideration of our whole policy in these parts. It seems, therefore, that it is greatly to our interest to give all the moral support possible to France in her present difficulties here.

I have, &c  
W A SMART

E 5451 257 89

Consul Smart to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 13.)

Damascus, August 29, 11.

IN continuation of previous correspondence regarding the Druse rebellion, I have the honour to report that the French authorities have arrested and sent to Island Mout of the local Nationalist leaders, including practically the whole of the Administrative Committee of the Party of the People, accused of complicity with the Druse rebels. Dr. Shahlendar, the leader of the party, and several other Nationalist chiefs managed to escape before their arrest could be effected. It is said by some that Dr. Shahlendar has gone to Palestine, but the probability is that he is still somewhere in Syria.

2. On Friday, the 28th instant, the bazars were closed, and an attempt to demonstrate against these arrests was made at the midday prayer at the Omryad Mosque. One youthful Nationalist harangued the congregation which issued from the mosque in a threatening mass as on the occasion of the Ralfour demonstration. This time, however, the demonstrators knew that they could not count on any leniency on the part of the French, and nothing serious happened. In the main bazaar the crowd was dispersed by a few shots in the air, and the police, in reply, fired a few shots over the heads of the crowd, which thereupon dispersed. A few arrests were effected.

3. The "Band us-Shark," a Nationalist paper, which had just come into existence to take the place of the suppressed "Al Mukataba" (see the fifth and sixth paragraphs of my letter No. 5448 of the 27th instant), has been suppressed. The editor of a newspaper cannot be published when its responsible editor is in prison. The editor of this ephemeral publication was Nayib Kana, one of the Nationalists arrested.

4. The French have thus made a fairly clean sweep of the Nationalist organisation in Damascus. If they could quickly restore order in time to have the elections in October as previously contemplated, they would now have little difficulty in "making" them so as to keep in power the present governmental party. The present impression, however, is that the elections will have to be postponed owing to unlikelihood of an early restoration of order.

I have, &c  
W A SMART

No 252

Consul General Beirut, to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 14.)

(No 42.)

(Telegraphic.)

Beirut, September 14, 1925

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry.—

"Gamelin arrived to-day and proceeded to Damascus immediately. Situation at Soueida more critical. Rebels now working two captured French guns against citadel, casualties reported."

(Repeated to Palestine.)

E 5576 357 89]

No 253

The Marquess of Crewe to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 16.)

(No. 1985.)

Sir,

Paris, September 15, 1925.

YOU will no doubt have observed, from the various despatches which Mr. Plappa has had the honour to address to you recently regarding the revolt in the Jebel Druse and the consequent disturbed situation in Syria, that this question has so far been regarded by the Paris press and by French public opinion as a general almost entirely as a personal issue concerning General Sarrail exclusively. The actions of the High Commissioner, his failure to keep the Metropolitan Government adequately informed, his inability to fill his dual office of High Commissioner and Commander-in-chief—all these points have been discussed *ad nauseam*, mainly in the columns of the Nationalist organs, which have not ceased since the first week in August to make the most violent attacks on General Sarrail, making no attempt to conceal their pleasure in being able to revenge themselves upon one of the hated "Rue de Valois" generals. The Left press, too, has treated the question mainly from the personal standpoint and in defending General Sarrail, who is, of course, *persona gratissima* in Socialist, Radical and Socialist circles, has made it clear that, if the High Commissioner at Beirut is to be made a scapegoat for the French reverses in Syria, then the High Commissioner at Rabat, Marshal Lyautey, must suffer a similar fate as regards recent events in Morocco. Throughout, the Government has remained strangely silent—too silent to suit the wishes of the press—and has contented itself with issuing a few somewhat arid communiqués.

2. No attempt would seem to have been made to judge the situation on wider lines, or to estimate the possibilities of the present situation. This may in part be due to the fact that Parliament is not now sitting, and to the fact that public opinion has been more than occupied by recent events regarding security, inter Allied debts and Morocco. It is, however, undeniable that the question of the Druse rebellion has hitherto been regarded by the newspapers from a somewhat partisan point of view and that any criticisms or suggestions which have been made have been destructive rather than constructive in character.

3. I think, therefore, that, at the risk of recapitulation, a further short summary of events up to the present time may be useful.

4. Isolated from the other inhabitants of Syria not only by geographical conditions, but also by their peculiar religious tenets, the Druses are by nature a proud and high-spirited race, to whom external control and authority is irksome. In days gone by the Turks had found them troublesome subjects, and had experienced considerable difficulty in reducing them to subjection. Nor were the Druses, after a war years of struggle, more amenable to French rule than they had been to Turkish. It was clear that, unless the Druses were handled with exceptional skill and tact, trouble was almost certainly in store for the French. Unfortunately, however, the manner in which the French authorities dealt with the problem was marked by very little tact and seemingly little foresight.

5. In March 1921 an agreement was drawn up between the French and the Druse notables, laying down the Constitution of the State of the Jebel Druse, included in the French mandatory area in Syria. By this agreement or charter it was expressly stated that the Druses themselves, subject to the approval of the mandatory Power, would be at the head of the Government. For a time this provision was carried out, a native Governor presided over the State and all went well. But when, early in 1923, the French decided to abandon their previous policy and determined to appoint a French Governor, the Druses, with considerable justification, declare that the French Government has deliberately broken its written pledge.

6. I think it is a most unfortunate choice when selecting the French Governor of the Jebel Druse. Their choice fell upon Captain Carbillat, a young French officer, energetic and keen about his work, but totally incapable of understanding the native psychology, harsh and overbearing to his inferiors and heedless of local sentiment and prejudice. Even M. Painlevé, in a recent interview, was forced to admit that Captain Carbillat had



been *un peu rude* in his dealings with the natives, while the utmost that the Left papers can find to say in his favour is that he was indefatigable in working for the material prosperity of the Jebel Druse, building new roads and improving the water supply. Mr Consul Smart is unsparring in his criticisms of Captain Carbillet, declaring that he would be more at home in France's North African possessions. If some of the articles which have appeared in the more extreme Nationalist organs are to be credited, the penal colony of French Guiana would seem to be still more suitable than Syria for the Druses, where the situation was already strained owing to the continued refusal of the French to appoint a native Governor, to the breaking point.

7 In this connection, I would point out that, although Captain Carbillet's appointment as Governor was not officially gazetted till the 3rd December, 1924, he had been acting in this capacity for a considerable period, having been originally nominated to the post by General Weygand. General Sarrail was only appointed High Commissioner on the 29th November, 1924, and did not arrive in Syria till the 2nd January, 1925. Therefore, although he was actually in power at the time of Captain Carbillet's appointment, it would be hardly fair to saddle him with the entire responsibility, nor would it be just to maintain that Captain Carbillet won his promotion owing to his anti-Clerical and Radical ideas.

8 If Captain Carbillet was unsuccessful in handling the Druses, the higher French authorities were little better. For when, in June last, while Captain Carbillet was on leave, a party of Druse notables went to Beirut to lay their grievances before General Sarrail, the High Commissioner refused to receive them. In consequence, the already existing irritation of the Druse chieftains was greatly increased. Finding that the French decided to maintain the status quo, the Druses decided to take matters into their own hands.

9 The French Government has been very slow to react to the situation. The French War Office has been very slow to react to the situation. The French War Office has been very slow to react to the situation.

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11 The French Government has been very slow to react to the situation. The French War Office has been very slow to react to the situation. The French War Office has been very slow to react to the situation.

12 Hostilities started on the 24th July, when a French column composed of Syrian levies was surprised and lost 100 men. Shortly afterwards Soueida, the capital of the Mountain, was surrounded and the French garrison was besieged in the citadel. In the meantime a punitive column was being concentrated at Hama under General Michaud, this column—about 3,000 strong—advanced towards Soueida on or about the 1st August, but was heavily attacked and had to retreat to Hama. The French losses were considerable, and an entire battalion of Moudjahides laid down their arms and fled. As a result of this reverse, the investment of Soueida became more severe, while the French were compelled to await the arrival of reinforcements before undertaking any operations on a large scale.

13 Encouraged by their initial successes, the Druses made a daring raid on Damascus on the 24th August, but, thanks to the gallantry of the Spahis and the efficiency of the French aeroplanes, this was driven off with loss. Since this date nothing of any particular note has been reported. The present situation is that the French hold the railway line as far as Hama, while the garrison at Soueida is still besieged. Reinforcements amounting to five battalions, three or four batteries and some tanks are on their way to Syria, but little is likely to happen until they arrive.

14 It is perhaps too early to give any opinion as to the probable outcome of the campaign. Mr Smart maintains that, if the French local authorities keep their heads, then little difficulty in putting an end to the revolt is to be anticipated, he

adds, however, that the French at Damascus are inclined to exaggerate the danger of the situation. There seems little reason to doubt, however, that, with the arrival of the reinforcements referred to above, the French will be in a position to reduce the Druse to submission, though the difficult nature of the ground and the lack of water complicate the problem.

15 So far, apart from certain alarmist newspaper articles, there has been no rumour of any movement elsewhere in Syria in sympathy with the Druse, and the French War Office has definitely denied the existence of any such movement, and, provided that the French suffer no more reverses, there seems to be no reason to anticipate that any general rising will take place, since the Druse are universally unpopular with the other inhabitants of Syria.

16 It may be of interest to recall that the "Times" of the 17th and 25th August stated that the Druse leaders were prepared to make peace on the basis of the following terms: Recall of Captain Carbillet, a French Governor of the State would be accepted, provided he were elected by the Druse, special Constitution for the Jebel Druse to be drawn up, amnesty for all in revolt to be granted and no Druse arms to be confiscated, evacuation of the Mountain by all French troops, rebuilding of all Druse villages destroyed by French aeroplanes, limiting of French control in the Jebel Druse to five French officers, no restriction on traffic in arms to be imposed.

17 That these rumours of peace negotiations were well founded was borne out both by M. Laroche and M. Painlevé (see Mr. Phipps's telegrams Nos. 288 and 289). The "Times" of the 25th August, however, reported that the peace negotiations had definitely broken down, and the advances made by the Druse leaders seem to have led to nothing.

18 The situation to date. A word may now be said on certain of the most important questions which arise out of the revolt.

19 *French Administration in Syria.*—There can be little doubt that the French administration was itself largely to blame for the outbreak of the revolt, and it cannot be acquitted of responsibility for the initial French disasters. For, having decided on a policy of repression, it failed to make the necessary preparations to carry out this policy and allowed the initiative to pass to the rebels. The first lesson which seems to have been drawn from this is that the present system of administration in Syria, whereby the offices of High Commissioner and Commander in chief are filled by the same person, is defective, and General Gamelin (see my article No. 1920 of the 4th September) has now been appointed, ostensibly in command of the troops. It is interesting to note that the French Government have at the same time apparently come to a similar decision about Morocco and have determined to deprive Marshal Lyautey of his command.

20 *Political Situation in France.*—The difficulties which have been experienced in Syria, and the consequent bitter attacks which have been made upon General Sarrail, have an embarrassing effect upon the French Cabinet, and upon the President of the Council in particular. M. Brund, supported by M. Berthelot, is known to be pressing for the recall of the High Commissioner, while M. Painlevé, in his capacity as Minister of War, cannot be too pleased with the manner in which the campaign has been conducted up to the present. On the other hand, any attempt to remove General Sarrail would infuriate the Socialist Radicals and Socialists, and would tend to throw M. Painlevé further to the Right. The Government is already accused of having utilised the support of the Right to counterbalance the defection of the Socialists over Morocco and the Finance Bill. Such an accusation does not in itself please M. Painlevé, who cannot wish further to alienate the Left by recalling General Sarrail. Yet he is responsible for the defence of French interests in Syria, and he is being told on all sides that it is impossible as long as General Sarrail remains. Hence M. Painlevé's dilemma. It may be that the difficulty will be solved by recalling both General Sarrail and Marshal Lyautey, a policy which would anger both the Left and the Right, but it is a policy which would be a purely civilian functionary.

21 *Finance.*—Coming at a time when the sorely tried French Treasury was already severely strained by the necessity of meeting unexpected demands caused by the war in Morocco, the revolt in Syria must be a source of considerable embarrassment from the financial point of view. No information is available regarding the estimated cost of suppressing the rebellion, nor regarding the manner in which this

money will be found. In view of the fact that reinforcements have had to be sent all the way from Marseilles, it is clear that very considerable expenditure must have been caused. It is, I understand, probable that a Bill allotting the necessary credits will be presented to the Chamber on the reassembly of Parliament.

22 *Effect of the Revolt upon His Majesty's Government.*—The Jebel Druze marches with Transjordan, and the revolt was therefore bound in any event to interest His Majesty's Government in its capacity as a neutral neighbour State. But owing to the peculiar circumstances, the rebellion has a deeper effect on British interests. During the latter part of the 19th century the Druses obtained some support from British subjects in their struggles against their Turkish masters, and the M. . . . has of course since the war been a constant object of suspicion to the French. In every petty disturbance, in every minor quarrel, the French press have seen the shadow of the pan-Arab movement and behind the pan Arab they have discerned His Majesty's Government—the phantom "cavalerie de St. George" galloping across the sands of Arabia. Thus the French—and not only the French authorities in Syria but also public opinion at home—had acquired a frame of mind which made it only too easy for them to break out into a violent anti-British attitude if they were given any excuse. It was thus essential that no such opportunity should be afforded to them.

23. Fortunately, from the outset the British authorities were able effectively to patrol the frontier and to prevent rebels in any large numbers crossing over into British territory, using it as a refuge from which to emerge later. The only serious occurrence took place on the 24th August, when it was reported that 700 mounted tribesmen had crossed the Transjordan frontier in order to join the Druses. No confirmation of the incident was forthcoming, however, and the matter has never been referred to in the Paris press.

24. As you will recollect, the President of the Council has on more than one occasion expressed his warm appreciation of the sympathetic attitude taken up by the British officials in Transjordan, and with the exception of a few articles at the beginning of the outbreak no attacks have been made on Great Britain in the press.

25. Thus the danger that the Druse revolt might be the cause of Franco-British dissension in Syria would seem to have been averted. It would, however, be a mistake to assume that His Majesty's Government's interest in the matter ends with their obligation to keep the frontier closed. Great Britain, as a mandatory Power in the Near East, can hardly fail to be affected by the events in the French zone. Anything which would tend to decrease French prestige or augment the power of the native parties in Syria would be bound to have a harmful reaction, not necessarily direct but nevertheless tangible upon the situation in Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq. Thus the future tranquillity of the areas under British mandate depends very closely upon the success of the French in dealing with any disturbances in Syria.

26. *Position of League of Nations.*—There remains one aspect of the question which I have not seen alluded to in any newspaper article, either French or British, that is, the attitude likely to be adopted by the League of Nations in the matter. There is a natural tendency in France to regard Syria more in the light of a colony or protectorate than as a mandated territory, and little or no differentiation is made on these grounds between the affairs of the Druse and those of Morocco.

27. It may be remembered that after the Bondelzwart Hottentot rebellion in what was formerly German South West Africa, the League of Nations summoned the Union of South Africa, the mandatory Power in question, to give an account of its stewardship. There is nothing presumably to prevent the League taking similar action in the present case, and I observe from Mr Smart's despatch No. 146 that this possibility—remote and improbable though it may be—has not escaped the notice of the Palestine Druses.

I have &c  
ERIC PHIPPS

No. 254

Consul-General, Beirut, to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 18)

(No. 44.)

(Telegraphic)

Beirut, September 18, 1925

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry—

The . . . . . attacked yesterday at Muselire, 13 miles south west of Soueida. Engagement lasted from 4 till 10 A.M. Rebels then withdrew. High Commissioner informs me that rebels left 200 dead on the field. French casualties (1 group omitted), but understand squadron lost heavily.

(Repeated to Palestine)

[E 5696 357 89]

No. 255.

Consul Smart to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 21)

(No. 184.)

Sir,

Damascus, September 7, 1925.

WITH reference to previous correspondence regarding the Druse rebellion, I have the honour to transmit herewith a translation of an estimate of the Druse forces supplied to me by a native informant who should be in a position to obtain local information. . . . . any way touch for the accuracy of this information. It is noteworthy, however, that, while the machine gun figures appear to be exaggerated, the estimates of the Druse numbers and artillery are quite conservative.

. . . . . examination of the map seems to show that the Druse forces are disposed as if offensives were expected in the following three quarters:—

- (1.) From Kieweh by the direct track to the north-east of the mountain.
- (2.) From Eara by the motor road to Soueida (main offensive).
- (3.) From Boun Eski Shan into the south of the mountain.

3. As the Druses, owing to a very general native complicity, must be well informed of French military movements, it may be that this order of battle represents the conclusions they have drawn from these movements since the gradual arrival of reinforcements.

4. Quite rightly the French military authorities here preserve complete silence as to their intentions. Presumably no offensive will now take place before the arrival of General Gannelin, whom General Michaud is tempted to make an effort to redeem his reputation by precipitating operations before the arrival of his successor.

5. It is not altogether impossible that an offensive may be retarded in the hope that continued and intensified aerial bombardments of the villages in the mountain may inconvenience the Druses sufficiently to induce them to make peace on conditions which it would not be impossible to accept. There can be no doubt that the population of the . . . . . is so small that . . . . . with the limited aeroplanes hitherto available. Now that new air squadrons have come from France, this aerial action could presumably be intensified without much difficulty. Recently a heavy aerial bombardment of the town of Soueida was effected in retaliation for a Druse night attack on the citadel, during which one of the French officers of the garrison was killed.

6. Already it is reported that members of the Hulabeyeh and 'Awamreh families, between which and the Attrash family there has always been rivalry, have got into communication with the French authorities in order to reopen peace negotiations. It is said that the French authorities refused to listen to these overtures. It is a well known feature of Druse policy to feign differences and keep elements on both sides of the fence, so as to mitigate the results of any discomfiture. Perhaps, therefore, the French had good reason to doubt the genuineness of these advances.

7. There are now some ex-Turkish officers from Damascus in the Jebel Druse and . . . . . Dr Shabbandar, the fugitive Nationalist leader (see the first paragraph of my despatch No. 157 of the 29th ultimo), contemplates organising hospital arrangements in the mountain.



[E 5709 357/89]

No. 256.

Comm. General Satow to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 22.)

(No. 119. Confidential.)

Sir,

Beirut, September 8, 1925.

IT was inevitable when the trouble in the Jebel Druse broke out that we, as a result of our past traditional friendship with the Druses, should be considered by many as actually to be assisting the Druses, at any rate to be viewing their activities with a benevolent eye. Such suggestions were all the more likely to find a fertile soil in the minds of the French, as it is always pleasant to be able to attribute the result of one's own mistakes to the faults of others. Further, the French have a deep-rooted suspicion both of the Emir Abdullah and of Rikabi, his Prime Minister.

2. Both the liaison officer and I have done our best to dispel these suspicions. The liaison officer, who has been in the country since the outbreak, has recently made a special journey to Palestine, in the course of which he was able to see with his own eyes what was being done in Transjordan to prevent Arabs from crossing thence into Syria, in naturally in the best position to persuade the French that we are doing all that can reasonably be expected of us. I myself have lost no opportunity of seconding his efforts. I have been able to inform General Sarrail that, while an emissary from Sultan Pasha Attnash did indeed go to Amman to ask advice from the Emir Abdullah, the advice which was, by the direction of the Acting High Commissioner, given to him was such that it could only be fully approved by the French. I have also informed General Sarrail that, while certain Arabs were able to get over the frontier the numbers of those doing this had been much exaggerated; that they were mainly of the Roalla tribe, which has sections in both the French and British zones; and that stringent measures, which included authority to fire on persons knowingly disregarding the order that the passage of the frontier is forbidden had been taken to prevent a repetition of the incident.

Knowing this, and the fact that we are doing all we can to prevent the Druses from crossing the frontier, I think it would be fair to say that we are doing all we can. But even so level-headed a man as General Weygand had periods when he seemed to believe almost anything that was told him. In these circumstances General Sarrail may easily later on be led to believe that we are not really doing our best. If such is the case, it will be regrettable, but cannot be helped.

4. The recall of General Michaud and his replacement by General Gamelin is considered to be a severe blow to General Sarrail. It appears to be correct that the change was made without consulting the High Commissioner who has persisted in regarding General Michaud as an officer of merit. As to the wisdom of the change there can be no doubt. To have resumed operations under General Michaud, in whom confidence was no longer felt by his subordinates, would have been to court disaster.

3. A local paper recently published a surprisingly frank leading article, in which it attempted to point out many of the faults of the French administration in Syria and the Lebanon things go all right so long as discipline is maintained. And discipline can easily be maintained so long as those in charge know how to make themselves respected. The article also pointed out that the French administration has for various reasons diminished. The change of generals, which should have been brought about by the High Commissioner, but has actually taken place without his views being ascertained, must inevitably tend still further to diminish his prestige and authority here.

I have, &amp;c.

H. E. SATOW

8. Druse bands have again been operating against villages in the neighbourhood of Damascus and of Kineitra. Acts of violence and robberies in the countryside by miscellaneous brigands are fairly frequent. Efforts are being multiplied by the Druses to suppress these bands. The French recently bombarded several villages in the Wadi-al-Ajam suspected of being rebel meeting places. There have also been conflicts between the Christians and the Druses in that region. On the other hand, it appears unlikely that the French can count on much native co-operation in the Hauran or elsewhere. Amir Said Jazari tells me that Mahmud Faour, chief of the Fadl tribe of the Jabal, in reply to a French invitation, said that he would maintain order in his district, but that he could not violate tribal tradition by co-operating against the Druses.

9. In Damascus the French, since the arrival of the latest reinforcements and the arrest of the Nationalist leaders (see my despatch No. 157 of the 29th ultimo), appear to be feeling to fear for the moment from native outbreaks. Immediately after the demonstration reported in my above-mentioned despatch, orders were issued prohibiting assembly after 8 p.m. in the Meydan and Shaghbour quarters (see the seventh paragraph of my despatch No. 144 of the 12th ultimo), but this interdiction was removed after a couple of days. On Friday, the 4th instant, a feminine demonstration was made against the French and was organised for the use from the Midway. Presumably women were selected for this purpose as being less likely to be treated by their sex from vigorous treatment. However, the demonstration failed to materialise although some of the bazaar closed in anticipation of trouble.

10. The situation in the town is as tranquil as it could be expected to be. The eastern entrance of the town. Generally, in Southern Syria the Druses can hardly for the moment count on important accessions of native allies, as the increase in the French military strength should be sufficient to inspire prudence in hesitating elements. I think the French position in Syria and the Lebanon is now about 25,000 men and that no further reinforcements are expected in the near future. Of this force some 5,000 Malagaches and Syrian legionaries can be regarded as useless for fighting purposes. The remainder seems to be inadequate for a general restoration of order (see the fourth paragraph of my despatch No. 156 for the minimum requirements in my opinion). Of course, if favoured by luck and by a successful military action, the French might be able to extricate themselves from their present difficulties. But any hitch or new development might lead to a serious compromise of France's position in Syria. In short, I think that considerable risk is being taken by this failure to increase adequately the French forces in the country.

I have, &amp;c.

W. A. SMART

Enclosure in No. 256.

Druse Order of Battle.

|            | Men | Military |
|------------|-----|----------|
| 1. Druse   | 100 | 100      |
| 2. Druse   | 100 | 100      |
| 3. Druse   | 100 | 100      |
| 4. Druse   | 100 | 100      |
| 5. Druse   | 100 | 100      |
| 6. Druse   | 100 | 100      |
| 7. Druse   | 100 | 100      |
| 8. Druse   | 100 | 100      |
| 9. Druse   | 100 | 100      |
| 10. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 11. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 12. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 13. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 14. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 15. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 16. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 17. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 18. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 19. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 20. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 21. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 22. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 23. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 24. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 25. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 26. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 27. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 28. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 29. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 30. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 31. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 32. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 33. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 34. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 35. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
| 36. Druse  | 100 | 100      |
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Three hundred Damascenes, mostly horsemen, have joined the Druses.

No 257

*Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received September 25)*

(No. 14)

Telegraphic) En clair.

Damascus, September 25, 1925

FRENCH troops advancing relieved Soueida yesterday

E 6961,357,89

*Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received October 1)*

(No. 177)

Sir,

Damascus, September 18, 1925

IN continuation of correspondence ending with my despatch No. 164 of the 7th instant regarding the Druse rebellion, I have the honour to report that the last ten days have been characterised by intensive Druse action in the Wadi-al-Ajam, by skirmishing between the railway and the mountain, and by a marked change in native and French opinion, which, formerly sceptical, now anticipates a French victory.

2. In the Wadi-al-Ajam, which has many villages inhabited by a mixed Christian population, Druse bands have from Ma'dar as-Shams, south of Hama, and at Amma-Sneareh and Kalaat Jandal on the western slopes of Hermon, practically driven out all the Christians, after a severe armed struggle in the case of Kalaat Jandal. A French force recently went out under General Boile but returned without doing anything effective. According to the

that no further trouble need be expected. On the contrary, the trouble has been much more acute since the return of the force to Damascus. Indeed, the raiding is almost amounting to the proportions of an offensive, and shows signs of spreading

the "Grand Liban." All this Druse action in the Wadi-al-Ajam is obviously designed to create a diversion and draw off French troops from the offensive against the mountain. I understand that troops have been or are being sent again to the Wadi-al-Ajam, where the native gendarmerie posts have been reduced to virtual impotence.

3. It would seem that most of the Nationalist refugees from Damascus (see the first paragraph of my despatch No. 157 of the 20th ultimo) have made their way either to the Jebel Druse or to Transjordan. There have been many reports of the formation of a Provisional National Government in the mountain under the direction of these political refugees, but no certain details of such a move are yet available.

4. The ex-officers of the Turkish army from Damascus are playing a considerable part in the direction of Druse operations. A council of war is said to have been held recently between these officers and the Druse chiefs with a view to devising plans for action after the probable success of the coming French offensive. According to this report, the conference agreed on intensive action of bands from Al Safa as their base. M. Aubouard, the French delegate, told me to-day that, after the Jebel Druse had been reoccupied, Al Safa was to be heavily bombed from the air with a view to the destruction of the nest of brigands who from there have been raiding the Bagdad road. It would, in that eventuality, hardly seem a healthy region for a base of raiding bands.

5. Meanwhile skirmishes have been taking place between the railway and the mountain. A slight one was reported between Druses and French troops at Kharba, about 20 miles from Ezra on the road to Soueida. Both sides claim the victory.

6. A more serious skirmish took place at Musafirreh, south west of Soueida and though the French claim the victory, it seems more probable that the advantage rested with the Druses.

7. The most extensive conflict is reported to have taken place on the 13th instant, when a French force advancing from Ezra, either for raiding or reconnoitring purposes, was attacked by Druse cavalry, reinforced as the fighting proceeded. Aeroplanes appeared on the scene and apparently succeeded in extricating the French force from an unpleasant position.

8. Soueida is now subjected to artillery fire, but apparently the enemy gunners are very indifferent. However, the position of the garrison must be rather precarious, and it is to be hoped that, General Gamelin having arrived at Damascus and taken command of the French army, operations for the relief of Soueida will not be long delayed. I understood from M. Aubouard to-day that the offensive would start "in two or three days."

9. There is no doubt that the heavy aerial bombardments of the last month have greatly influenced the situation in favour of the French. The Druses have been disheartened by their material losses, and many disaffected elements elsewhere have been discouraged from joining in the fray by the fear of air reprisals. The reinforcements, though periscope close to the line of inadequacy, have already produced a considerable moral effect. Native opinion, hitherto sceptical of French chances of success, is veering round to the belief that the troops now concentrated in the Wadi-al-Ajam will be able to deal with the Druse bands. The guerilla warfare, retarding the restoration of order in Southern Syria, is contemplated as not at all unlikely. I have also during the last week noticed a change of feeling among the French, whose long depression appears to have been succeeded by considerable optimism.

I have &c  
W. A. SMART

No 258

*Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received October 6)*

(No. 16)

(Telegraphic) Code.

Damascus, October 6, 1925

REVOLT broke out at Hama 4th October. Some Government buildings burnt and town in possession of rebels until yesterday (Monday) morning, when French reinforcements fought their way into the town.

(Sent to Bagdad, No. 19, and Jerusalem, No. 4)

E 6999,348,89

No 260

*Consul-General Satow to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received October 7.)*

(No. 125)

Sir,

Beirut, September 23, 1925.

I HAVE the honour to report that within the last two or three months the concession made by the Great Lebanon Railway Company, commonly known as the D H P., has been overhauled and in some respects modified. One of the main alterations made seems to be that, as regards future lines built by the company in Syria and the Lebanon, a joint kilometre guarantee will be given by the three States, Great Lebanon, Alaouites and Syria, into which the territory under French mandate has been divided. Considerable difficulty has been encountered in getting the State of Syria to agree to this. The only new line of which the construction seems likely to be undertaken for the present is the coastal line from Tripoli to Beirut and onwards to the Palestine frontier. This, of course, will be entirely within the territory of the Great Lebanon and the Syrian States. It is argued that, in the circumstances, the matter was no concern of his State and interested only the Great Lebanon. With difficulty he seems to have been brought to see that if the D H P. later decides to build a line entirely within Syrian territory, such as, for example, a line from Aleppo or Hama to Dair-az-Zor, it will be advantageous to Syria that the Great Lebanon shall bear its share of the kilometre guarantee which will have to be given.

2. In the circumstances there are four parties whose acceptance of the D H P. Company's modified concession is required. They are, the company itself and the Governments of the Great Lebanon, of the Alaouites and of Syria. The first three have definitely signified in writing their consent to the new conditions, while the representative of the fourth party, Subhi Bey Barakat, has initialled the agreement and is expected within the next few days to affix his signature.

3. The immediate interest of the foregoing lies in its bearing on the question of the building of the proposed Tripoli-Beirut-Ras Nakura line for which, as will

[14003]



be seen from correspondence ending with Foreign Office despatch No. 141 of the 13th October, 1924, the preliminary surveys have already been made. I understand that, as soon as the President of the Syrian State has signed the revised concession of the D.H.P. Railway, the company will, in all probability, apply for authority to build the line.

4. The new capital required will be between 220 and 250 million francs. It will be raised, in part, by borrowing abroad, but no difficulty is apparently anticipated in this respect. The Comptroller Orsay is said to be anxious, and, indeed, to have laid down that the new line should be built.

5. Once the preliminary arrangements as regards capital, and so on, have been concluded, work will be begun. It is estimated that the time required will be about two years. The first part of the new line to be built will be the Tripoli-Beirut section, the railway company, which also owns the port of Beirut, being anxious to increase the movement of imports and exports through it.

6. The foregoing information is derived from Captain Vallon, acting adviser for public works to the French High Commission, and was acquired at a meeting at which I acted as interpreter between him and Colonel Holmes, general manager of the Palestine railways, and Mr. Anthony, who has been sent out by the Colonial Office.

reference to the French scheme of a coastal line. The impression I gained from the interview was that the French authorities seriously intend to put through the scheme.

I have, &c.

H. E. SATOW

[E 6214 357 89]

No 261.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 12)

(No 188.)

Sir,

Damascus, September 29, 1925.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 177 of the 18th instant and my telegram No. 14 of the 26th instant, I have the honour to report that on the night of the 16th/17th instant a considerable Druse force made another and much more determined attack on the French position at Musafirreh (see paragraph 6 of my despatch).

2. No doubt this attack was made with a view to anticipating the French concentration at Musafirreh for the advance on Suweida.

3. On the 22nd instant a French column, about 8,000 strong, under General Gamelin, advanced from Musafirreh and reached Suweida on the 24th instant, without serious opposition. After burning the town and withdrawing the French garrison the column returned to Musafirreh. The lack of water at Suweida made it impossible for the army to remain there.

4. Major Salisbury Jones, who accompanied General Gamelin, will doubtless report more fully on this military episode. I will content myself with indicating its effect at Damascus.

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5. The attack on the French position at Musafirreh was a serious one, and it is probable that the French will be compelled to withdraw from this position.

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strongholds, accompanied by destructive action and ending in retirements to the base at Musafirreh. Such retirements are apparently inevitable owing to the impossibility of keeping a large force in regions scantily supplied with water, which has further been diminished by deliberate destruction by the Druses. No doubt aerial action will continue independently of such expeditions.

8. Obviously, the position of the Druses is very unpleasant and will tend to become more so. Unless they make peace soon, the ploughing season will pass and they will be faced with a complete lack of cereals next year. Moreover, their homes

are far from cheerful. In such circumstances, it seems possible that there may be considerable defections, which would greatly facilitate the task of the French.

9. The prolongation of resistance in the mountain will of course involve an equal prolongation of the disorders in other parts of Southern Syria. A few days ago the railway line was damaged 41 kilom. south of Damascus, and further destructions of the line are quite possible. In the Wadi al Ajam (see the second paragraph of my above-mentioned despatch) the situation has improved, and a formal reconciliation has taken place between Druse and Christian headmen. But on the whole it is no exaggeration to say that, except on the Damascus-Beirut road and railway line, insecurity is general in Southern Syria, even in the immediate neighbourhood of Damascus.

10. The danger of the prolongation of this unsatisfactory situation is that complications may occur elsewhere and render necessary the diversion of troops to other points of menace. As the French forces now facing the mountain and covering Damascus are barely adequate for the purpose, it is obvious that any considerable withdrawal to deal with troubles in other parts of Syria might have disastrous effects. Moreover, the gravity of the economic situation, increasing with a continuation of the present disorder, will naturally tend to create unrest and that desperation which drives men to brigandage and other forms of violence.

I have, &c.

W. A. SMART

E 6236 357 89

No 262.

Consul-General Satow to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 13.)

(No. 127.)

Sir,

Beirut, October 2, 1926.

I HAVE the honour to report that this year the feast of the Prophet's birthday was celebrated by the local Moslems with a display of fireworks. The Moslem element being a minority here and the Christian elements now being in the majority, the Moslems, who are unaccustomed in the time of the Turks, the Moslems in self-defence naturally do their best to give to the "Mevlid" and its celebration an importance which it used not to have in earlier days.

2. One feature of yesterday's celebration was a noisy procession of young Moslems who carried flags bearing inscriptions of a religious nature. It was first reported that they carried the Egyptian and Afghan flags, but this proved not to be the case. It is worthy of notice that no effort was apparently made to display the Turkish flag.

3. General Sarrail, the Governor of the Lebanon, and certain other officials and notables attended at the El Omari Mosque, where a speech was made which was followed by the distribution of sweetmeats. The Turkish consul-general did not attend. It appears that he was invited to go, but to wear a fez and not a hat. He said that he would wear a hat, but was warned that if he did so he would be insulted. Having

been warned, he in the end did not go. The French nor the Lebanese flags were

displayed.

4. For a day or two before the feast the Moslems had been rather on the alert. A Christian had been killed by a Moslem in the Mezraa quarter near the sand dunes in a dispute about some land, and the Christians of that quarter, who have a reputation for turbulence, were rumoured to be preparing to take vengeance. The Moslems of the Basta quarter prepared for some sort of attack and are said to have had ready not only rifles, but also bombs. A small incident happened in the Mezraa quarter. A Christian quarrelled with a Druse

[14093]

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laker and ended by shooting him. Thereupon a number of armed Druses appeared with their rifles and shot the French soldiers. The French soldiers were wounded and the Druses became known in the town there was the beginning of a panic and a certain number of shops were shut.

5. There is certainly a good deal of nervousness abroad at present in Beirut. It is not only the Moslems but the Christians are also nervous. The Moslems quarters and homes as well, while the Christians must also possess arms in some quantity. The French might before disarming the Jebel Druse tackle the question of disarming Beirut. I imagine that they are unlikely to attempt to do so, as not only would such a course be unpopular, but it would also be very difficult in the Moslem houses.

I have, &c.

H. E. SATOW

No. 263

Consul, Damascus, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain (Received October 14)

(No. 17)

(Telegraphic.) Code.

Damascus, October 13, 1925.

IN view of prolongation of rebellion, spreading of hands and attacks all over the country, including immediate vicinity of Damascus and Beirut road, British travellers should be warned that all Southern and Central Syria is for the present unsafe and that they come here at their own risk. If they must come they should be advised to travel by day and by train which is militarily guarded.

In view of importance of not weakening moral of (French authority), I hope warning will be conveyed (group undecipherable, discreetly as possible)

(Sent to Bagdad, No. 20, Jerusalem, No. 8, Beirut, No. 14, and Aleppo Sent by post to Cairo, Constantinople and Amman)

No. 264

Acting Consul General Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received October 14)

(No. 50)

(Telegraphic)

Beirut, October 14, 1925

R. E. R. No. 17 of 14th Oct. at Beirut. Damascus

Rebel in Great Lebanon remains so far reasonably safe

Sent to Bagdad, No. 52, Jerusalem, No. 11, Damascus, No. 7, and Aleppo, No. 2. Sent by post to Cairo, Constantinople and Amman)

E 6390 357/89]

No. 265

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received October 19)

No. 192)

Damascus, October 4, 1925.

I HAVE the honour to report that the birthday of the Prophet was celebrated in Damascus. The day was very much disturbed. The offices and bazaars were closed, the streets were profusely decorated and frequently blocked by enthusiastic processions.

2. The French authorities, in conformity with General Sarrail's policy of showing excessive deference to the Moslems, were effusive in their manifestations of sympathy with the Moslems on the occasion of this Mahometan festival.

3. In the evening the processions, swollen with elements from the turbulent Shaghour and Meydan quarters, became offensive. Cries of "Down with Sarrail!" "Down with the French!" "Long live Dr. Shabbander!" "Long live Independence!" &c., soon left no doubt of the anti-French bias of the demonstrators, who in their enthusiasm began to fire rifle and revolver shots in the air, although this form of jubilation had

been expressly forbidden by the police. Two French North African soldiers, who happened to be in the line of march, were badly handled and one of them wounded. A number of natives were wounded by stray bullets. The demonstrators then crossed the principal square of the town and thronged threateningly before the Serai and other Government buildings, which were promptly abandoned to their fate by the chiefs of police and gendarmes, who retired to a neighbouring hotel. The subordinate police officers seem, however, to have behaved with considerable tact and managed to get the crowd to move on to the broader avenues leading to the Hajar Railway Station. There, without opposition, they pulled down from the Government printing office its frontal decorations, including the Syrian flags, which have the Tricolour in one corner.

4. On the next day the French semi-official paper, the "Syria," published an official communiqué to the effect that the birthday of the Prophet had been celebrated without incident both at Beirut and Damascus. On the same date the Damascus Arabic papers published full details of the demonstration, announcing the arrests effected, about half-a-dozen in all.

5. The French authorities in Damascus have been very much disturbed by the demonstration. After the demonstration the French authorities in Damascus have been very much disturbed by the demonstration. The French authorities in Damascus have been very much disturbed by the demonstration. The French authorities in Damascus have been very much disturbed by the demonstration.

6. This policy of subservience to the Moslems has inspired the latter with no affection for France but rather with contempt for the French, whose undignified advances are regarded as signs of weakness.

I have, &c.

W. A. SMART

[E 6391/357/89]

No. 266

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received October 19)

(No. 194)

Sir,

Damascus, October 5, 1925

IN view of the frequent French communiqués issued at Damascus, Beirut and Paris, reporting that all is quiet at Damascus, I thought it might be of interest to extract, by way of example, a series of reports of brigandage and disorder published in a single number of the Damascus newspaper, the "Zaman." This paper is subsidised by the French and is unlikely to emphasise unduly any information unpalatable to them. I have the honour to enclose literal translations of these extracts, all of which appeared in the section daily devoted to "Local Events," of the 4th instant.

2. The acts of violence and disorder mentioned in these extracts show that the situation is not only widespread, but also encroaches on the borders of the French zone.

3. After the "reconciliation" the Christian refugees returned from Damascus to their villages. The Druses attacked them in the village of Am Aashaara, plundered the church, and forced them to seek safety again in flight. The French appear to leave the district entirely to the care of the Syrian authorities and gendarmes, who are both luxurious and inefficient.

4. I have sent to the Wadi al-Ajam with a capable political officer. In the absence of such a force, a "tribal peace," without sanctions, is negotiated in a non-tribal district and after a number of Christians and even one gendarme have been killed. The French authorities allow this denial of justice and precarious peace arrangement to be effected without their intervention. When this "tribal peace" is broken, the French authorities, in reply to further representations by the

\* Not printed



Christians, are said to have declared that they would send troops to the Wadi al-Ajam after they had finished with the Jebel Druse.

4. A similar attitude of abstention characterises the French attitude in other regions. For instance, in the Anti Lebanon, just outside Damascus, the Moslem village of Hama, the seat of an important Greek Orthodox convent, have recently been engaging in hostilities, with, naturally, casualties on both sides. Finally, a "truce" was made between them without the French having shown any sign of interest in either the conflict or its unorthodox conclusion in a non-tribal district.

5. Of course, the danger of a dispersion of French troops is evident. But I can hardly believe that the French could not spare a small mobile column for police work outside the actual theatre of war. I think that the difficulty at present is one of divided authority. The theatre of war and the army's line of communication are in the hands of the French, while the troops under the sole command of General Gouraud are in the rest of the country, the responsible and civilian delegate at Damascus can only ask General Gamelin for military units to assist in maintaining order. Naturally, the general, whose only preoccupation is the suppression of the Druse rebellion, is not inclined to detach from his hardly adequate army special units for police work. He probably refuses such civilian requests. The delegate is thus bound to rely on the native gendarmerie, which is useless at such a juncture. The delegation itself admits that it is kept in complete ignorance of the military situation by the military authorities.

6. I am inclined to think that the only way out of this unsatisfactory situation is to supersede the civilian delegate temporarily by a soldier responsible both for the army in the field and the maintenance of order in the State. Once the military authorities were saddled with this responsibility, I have little doubt that, while doing nothing essential to the concentration on the front, they would in cases like that of the Wadi al-Ajam, find the modest force required to go out and restore order there. Southern Syria is now virtually in a state of war, and conditions call for a military rather than a civilian direction of the State. If these disorders are allowed to continue, they may, at given points, reach such dimensions as to constitute a military peril. It would seem, therefore, that a change as indicated above is in the interest of the army's safety in the field. Probably, however, General Sarrail, in No. 102 of the 4th instant, will shrink from adopting resolute measures of this kind which would inconveniently emphasise the troubled state of Southern Syria after nine months of his régime.

I have, &c.  
W. A. SMART

No. 297

Acting Consul General Beirut, to Mr Austen Chamberlain, (Received October 20)

(No. 52)

(Telegraphic) R

Beirut October 19, 1925

FOLLOWING from consular officer at Damascus by telephone

"Rioters, aided by small outside elements, in possession of certain quarters of Damascus, including British consulate quarter. Rioters friendly and no danger anticipated to British life and property except from stray shots. Consulate isolated except by telephone."

"French firing on rebel quarter, and say that they will restore order immediately."

(Sent to Bagdad and Jerusalem)

E 6440 357 89

Consul Smart to Mr Austen Chamberlain. (Received October 21)

No. 204)

Sir,

Damascus, October 10, 1925

WITH reference to my despatch No. 194 of the 5th instant, I have the honour to report that the disorders in the vicinity of Damascus have greatly increased in intensity.

2. The Wadi al-Ajam has been abandoned by the Christians, and the Druse bands have even been raiding the outskirts of Katana, the capital of the Kada.

3. The daring of the bands is so extreme that one, that of Akkasheh (see the fifth press extract enclosed in my above mentioned despatch) actually encamped one night in the garden of the town house of Mustafa Pasha al-Abid, brother of the late Izet Pasha, telling his servants that they would do no harm if left in peace.

4. But the most remarkable development has been the appearance, in the gardens east of Damascus, of a mixed band of Druse mountaineers and villagers of the Anti Lebanon, who, swollen by bad characters from town and country, appears to be under the leadership of a certain Hassan al-Kharat, once a night watchman of Damascus. Its activities appear to be mainly directed to the search for arms and ammunition. They have not molested the Moslem landlords or peasants, beyond supplying themselves with food at the expense of the people generally. They have pillaged a few Christian

at Shafoomyeh, about 5 miles east of Damascus. Incidentally, they seized forty goats belonging to a Palestinian. In view of the hopelessness of recovering anything through the French authorities, I caused an indirect message to be sent to the robbers to the effect that the goats were British property and should be returned. They replied that they were sorry, but that the goats had already been eaten.

5. Finally, sixty Syrian gendarmes under three officers were sent out against the band and billeted themselves on the village of Maieha, about 6 miles east of the town. In the night the band entered the village, overpowered the gendarmes in their sleep, killed some of them, and then returned to the Wadi al-Ajam.

6. Since that time, the belief suddenly became general at Damascus that this band was going to enter the town and, with the help of elements inside, repeat the massacre of the 19th of July. In view of this, the French authorities have taken measures to ensure that their rifles when off duty, patrols of French soldiers and gendarmes have been circulating in the town, especially at night. At the midday prayer yesterday (Friday) the Christians, in anticipation of trouble, closed their shops in the vicinity of the Omayyad Mosque. In short, all the symptoms of the previous panics have reappeared. To illustrate the prevalence of the belief that an incursion was about to take place, I may mention that a sheikh of the Meydan quarter called on me this morning to assure me of the resolve of the Meydan sheikhs to protect their Christian neighbours when the attack took place, just as they had protected them during the 19th massacre.

7. The ostentatious measures of defence taken by the French on such occasions no doubt contribute to these panics, and the frankly displayed timidity of French individuals does not tend to create confidence. The French delegate, M. Aubouard, who is at present in Damascus, is a man of no great stature, and he is not more than adequate to deal with any incursion from without and rising from within. Some Moslems have expressed to me the belief that the French want to provoke an incident in order to use violent measures of repression with a view to terrorising the population. In this connection I would mention that General Soule remarked to me a few evenings ago that he wished the Damascenes would give the French a lesson in the art of war.

8. M. Aubouard called on me this morning and assured me that there was no danger for Europeans. Any band which entered the town would probably confine its attention to pillaging the bazaars. Anyhow, French troops were being sent out to-day to attack Hassan al-Kharat's band, which he estimated at about 100. He told me not to be alarmed if I heard the sound of artillery fire. It seems unlikely that 100 brigands would necessitate a French expedition, accompanied by artillery. Native estimates of the band vary from 400 to 1,700. The first figure is perhaps slightly exaggerated.

8. M. Aubouard also told us that the French had finally decided to occupy the Wadi al Ajam militarily. My previous reports will have shown that this measure is long overdue.

9. Finally, M. Aubouard informed me that two more French regiments were being sent from Beirut to Damascus, presumably from the reinforcements of three regiments supposed to be arriving from France.

10. While all this commotion is going on, the French High Commissioner has issued another of its extraordinary communiqués, to the effect that the French are re-established in "all Syria". This communiqué is followed by a statement of the bombing of villages north and south of Hama as reprisals for damage done to the railway line.

I have, &c.  
W. A. SMART

No. 269

*Consul, Damascus, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 21)*

(No. 20)

Telegraphic.) R.

*Damascus, October 21, 1925*

INSIGNIFICANT band entered the town unopposed 15th October and was joined by a few citizens. French lost their heads, and without any warning to the rebels withdrew their troops from the city proper and subjected it to two days' unnecessary bombardment.

Calm and communications now precautionarily re-established.

The French High Commissioner (General Michaud) has ordered the French to defend and then partially destroyed.

English colony safe. In spite of my earnest representations, French, while collecting their own women in places of safety, abandoned ours to their fate under the bombardment. I got in touch with natives, who furnished protection which the French failed to give. British subjects and consulate were in no danger except from French fire.

Details of this sorry affair by post.

(Repeated to Bagdad, No. 23, Jerusalem, No. 10, and Beirut, No. 17.)

No. 270

*Consul, Damascus, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 21)*

(No. 21)

Telegraphic.) R.

*Damascus, October 21, 1925*

MY telegram No. 20.

Consular corps has protested against French action in withdrawing troops and unnecessarily bombarding the town without warning, and with consequent destruction of foreign property and loss of foreign lives (two Italians as so far ascertained).

It has also expressed hope that no effect will be given to French threat to renew bombardment at 1 p.m. 24th October if fine is not paid.

It has requested French delegate to provide safe transport for foreigners wishing to leave Damascus in accordance with advice given by consulate.

It has held French authorities responsible for safety and immunity from bombardment of foreigners unable to leave.

French delegate is really well disposed, and he went with me over town to-day to visit English colony and combine measures for its safety, but military authorities are masters of situation, and they appear to be only interested in safety of French lives and property.

French have suggested that I should leave consulate in case of another bombardment.

I have refused.

(Sent by post to Bagdad, Jerusalem, Amman, Beirut and Aleppo.)

No. 271

*Consul, Damascus, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 23)*

(No. 22)

Telegraphic.) R.

*Damascus, October 22, 1925*

MY telegram No. 21.

Irish Presbyterian school and house of British Indian subjects damaged by French shells. More cases of this kind will probably be reported, but British Asiatic subjects &c. have dispersed and cannot all be found for the moment.

Loss of British goods in depository in bazaars destroyed by bombardment is to be feared but cannot yet be ascertained.

I am putting in claims as against French Government responsible for unnecessary bombardment.

My quarter, which was in rebels' possession, was also bombarded, and bits of at least one shell fell into the consulate, where flag was flying. Some of my colleagues and others were inclined to think that I ought to protest, but I would prefer not to say anything about a triviality from my personal point of view. If you think any principle is at stake I should be grateful for your instructions. Of course inconvenience was that I could not very well bring British subjects into consulate for safety, but had to arrange for them in other and relatively safer places.

(Sent by post to Bagdad, Jerusalem, Amman, Beirut and Aleppo.)

E 6512 367 89,

No. 272

*The Marquess of Crewe to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 24)*

(No. 2247)

Sir,

*Paris, October 23, 1925*

WHEN I forwarded my despatch No. 1098 of the 15th September, dealing generally with the situation in Syria, the French position there was clouded by the investment of Suweida and the disaster to the relief column operating under the command of General Michaud. Conditions in Damascus itself had also recently been unsatisfactory. The effect of these difficulties had not, however, prior to the date of my despatch under reference, made itself felt on public opinion in France, except in a violent press campaign against General Sarrail, conducted notably by the newspapers of the Right and by the "Echo de Paris" correspondent, M. Henri de Kerillis. Under the influence of events, the Government had gone so far as to recall General Michaud and to send out General Gampeloin to take over the command of the troops, ostensibly independently of General Sarrail, to whom thus remained, generally speaking, only the civil duties of the High Commissionership. Even on the 15th September, however, I pointed out that more than the personal fortune of General Sarrail was at stake. There might well be involved also the political situation of the Government at home, fresh difficulties for the French Treasury, and even the question of the mandate.

2. The view of the possibilities of the situation noted by me on the 15th September appears to have been only too well justified. For although since that date Suweida has been relieved, the French military authorities have themselves admitted to my assistant military attaché that they have not, on grounds of expense and lack of reinforcements, been in a position to pursue the rebels into the mountains, whither the latter retired and where they have been left in the hope that lack of water may eventually compel them to come to terms. Further there have been fresh troubles at Damascus and at Hama in the north (very inadequately, according to the military authorities themselves, reported by General Sarrail), and in Paris the campaign against the general has been resumed with increased virulence by M. Henri de Kerillis. There is no doubt that the latter gentleman's articles, which appeared in the "Echo de Paris" from the 26th September to the 6th October, and which contained much secret and apparently stolen documentary evidence, purporting to prove not only the military, but also the political ineptitude of the general, are intended to serve as the basis for a parliamentary attack upon him as soon as the Chambers meet. The "Journal des Debats" of the 22nd October has also published a very vigorous article against the general and interpellations on the situation have already been tabled both in the Senate and Chamber. Finally, M. Painlevé has ordered a military enquiry into the conduct of General Michaud.



3 On the 22nd October, the development of opinion here with regard to the summary of the results of the examination of M. Painlevé by the Finance Committee of the Chamber of Deputies on the 21st October. According to this summary military expenditure in Syria from the 1st July 1925, to the 31st December, 1925, was estimated at 106 million francs. For the period the 1st July, 1924, to the 1st July, 1925, 197 million francs only were spent, whilst from 1920 to 1924 the military expenditure amounted to 2,162 million francs. M. Painlevé declared the French losses to amount to thirty nine killed from the 1st January, to the 30th June, 1925, and to 585 killed between the 1st July and the 15th October, 1925. The number rising, the number had been 18,700 in 1920; the number of effectives employed was 70,000.

4 M. Painlevé's statement of the number of men killed since the 1st July was contested by certain members of the commission, but he declared himself unable to explain himself more fully and contented himself with stating that events in Syria had been greatly exaggerated, and that the news from English sources transmitted by pan-Islamic or Bolshevik agencies at Cairo was entirely inexact.

5. An even more interesting episode in the examination of M. Painlevé by the Finance Commission than the statement of losses and expenditure was the request of the Commission that the League of Nations of the French mandate in Syria. This consideration was not in any way to be the result of the recent reported appeal to the League Assembly of certain native elements in Syria (mentioned in the "Œuvre" of 24th September). It was suggested, as its protagonists made it quite clear, as a means of securing abandonment of the mandate by France. M. Painlevé appears to have rejected such a proposal and to have stated that in any case, it could not be debated save in the presence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. None the less, in view of the fact that the request for League consideration was made both by Conservative and Socialist representatives on the commission, I consider it a matter of interest and I shall carefully watch any further development. The report that the request has been made can, I imagine, in Syria hardly have any but the worst effect.

I have &c  
C.R.W.F.

No. 273

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 24)

(No. 23)

(Telegraphic) R

MY telegram No. 21.

French delegate has replied that note of consular corps is being carefully examined, and requesting exact information as to damage to persons and property of foreigners.

I should be grateful for instructions as to whether British claims, which are likely to be more extensive than others and are now coming in, should be presented by separate presentation. In view of wide destruction in the bazaars, British commercial losses may be considerable.

(Sent by post to Jerusalem, Bagdad, Amman, Beirut and Aleppo)

No. 274

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 24)

(No. 24)

(Telegraphic) R

MY telegram No. 20

French authorities announce that, security having been given for execution of the mandate, the French Government will be able to proceed with the mandate.

(Sent by post to Jerusalem, Bagdad, Amman, Beirut and Aleppo)

B 6547,357,69

No. 275

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 26)

(No. 209 Secret.)

Sir,

Damascus, October 12, 1925

1 I HAVE the honour to report that Khalil Bey Rifat, Director of Police at Damascus, called on me to-day to discuss some current business, and in the course of his visit made some interesting observations on the situation in the town and its neighbourhood.

2 His attitude was pessimistic. He said that the disorders round the town were increasing, and that the bands were becoming more numerous. The economic distress was everywhere providing recruits for these bands. The police had nothing to do with the maintenance of security outside the town. This was the task of the gendarmerie. The ill paid gendarmes had little encouragement to stand up against these powerful bands. If the gendarmerie was unable to clean up the neighbourhood

incursions into the town, whole quarters of which would join them in the hope of pillage. Already, it was only by infinite tact that the police was able to keep the people quiet. He instanced, as an example of the popular disrespect for authority, the incidents of the Prophet's birthday, when the crowd had, with impunity, torn down and stamped on French flags (see my despatch No. 192 of the 4th instant).

3 He said that the situation was such as to require military treatment. He had urged the French delegation to authorise the issue of an order prohibiting the circulation in the streets after 8 p.m. Such a prohibition would render more difficult made co-operation with any band entering the town at night. His request had been refused, because the French authorities did not wish any measure taken which would attract public attention to the abnormal situation here.

4 He had recommended that cars should only leave and enter the town between the hours of 6 a.m. and 6 p.m., and he understood that effect was being given to this recommendation.

5 I told him that Mr. Warner, of His Majesty's Legation at Tehran, had with a secretary of the Polish Legation at Tehran left Beirut rather late the preceding day. On reaching the Anti Lebanon after nightfall this car had been stopped by a gendarmerie post, which stated that its orders were to prevent cars passing after dark owing to the presence of a band on the road. The party insisted on proceeding, but was stopped by several other gendarmerie posts, at one of which the gendarmes would not let it proceed before receiving a written declaration absolving them from responsibility. As the party neared Damascus, that is to say, as it entered the really dangerous zone, it was not interfered with by gendarmes, for the simple reason that the latter were securely barricaded inside their posts and did not venture out to enforce regulations. The car simply had to drive over feeble wooden barriers put across the road opposite such posts.

6 Khalil Bey Rifat replied that the reason for the gendarmes' warnings was the presence of a band of 200 Druses, divided in two parts, one on each side of the Beirut road.

7 I asked why the newspaper "Al Zeman," reported to be a governmental organ, had been suddenly suppressed. He said that the reason was partly the annoyance of Subhi Bey and the commander of the gendarmerie at criticisms made against them by the paper. But the main reason was that the Government, fearing that the "Party of Unity" might become too independent and follow in the footsteps of the "Party of the People," had decided to suppress the former as it had a few weeks ago suppressed the latter. "Al Zeman" was the organ of the "Party of Unity" and had been suppressed with its party. In pursuance of orders received from the Government, he had dissolved both the "Party of Unity" and the "Workers' Party," an absurd body, organised by a Christian Deputy named Kahaleh, and consisting mainly of Orthodox Greek Christians. Khalil Bey thought that the Government wanted the elections held without any organised parties being in the field. In other words, the intention was to repeat the farcical elections of two years ago, which were characterised by general abstention.

8 I would mention, as a significant corroboration, that "Al Zeman" recently published an official declaration of the "Party of Unity," emphatically denying the general belief that it was a governmental organisation and asserting that it was quite independent. The declaration contained an ironical statement to the effect

that no Constitutional Government had yet been established on the basis of popular support, and that, therefore, the present Government could do without the support of the people. It seems to me that the Government have begun to be influenced by the popular feeling against the pitiful puppets who are Subhi Bey and his minions.

9. Khalil Bey was very pessimistic about the amount of help he could get from the French in his task of maintaining order. "They do nothing," he remarked.

10. I would observe that the French authorities studiously refrain from warning natives or Europeans, other than French, of any possible dangers. It seems remarkable that, while the gendarmerie was instructed not to let cars pass after sunset on the Beirut road owing to the presence of a band in that neighbourhood, the French authorities should not even have given me a discreet warning on the subject. I have carefully explained to M. Aubouard that I have a double responsibility—towards my own nationals and towards the consular corps, of which I am a member. I have therefore begged him to keep me informed of any dangers. At the same time, I have pointed out that, on the day before yesterday and discussed the situation, he made no reference to the Beirut road. I may mention that on the 11th instant I had, on my own information, addressed a despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner at Jerusalem and to His Majesty's consular officers at Beirut and Aleppo, recommending, among other things, that British travellers should be warned to use the Beirut road only in broad daylight.

11. I am inclined to acquit M. Aubouard of any responsibility for his failure to warn consuls of dangers concerning their nationals. He is himself quite alarmed but he is forced to carry out the instructions of General Sarrail, who, as I have on several occasions indicated, is trying to avoid any measure which would reveal to the European public the true state of affairs in Southern Syria.

I have, &c.  
W. A. SMART

No. 276

Sir W. Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to Consul Smart (Damascus)

No. 16.)

Received at Damascus, October 28, 1925.

I appreciate your action in participating in joint consular representations and in lodging claims in respect of British losses, and I appreciate your efforts on behalf of British subjects.

As regards danger to yourself and consulate, I am content to leave question of evacuation to your judgment, but I should strongly deprecate the assumption of any unnecessary personal risk. I recently discussed seriousness of situation with French Ambassador, and will raise it with French Minister for Foreign Affairs in Paris next week.

No. 277

Sir W. Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to Consul Smart (Damascus)

(No. 17.)

Received at Damascus, October 28, 1925.

You should present British claims separately.

No. 278

Sir W. Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to Sir R. Lindsay (Constantinople).

(No. 130.)

(Telegraphic)

Foreign Office, October 28, 1925.

BRITISH liaison officer in Syria reports rumour that Franco-Turkish negotiations regarding Syrian frontier are now proceeding in Constantinople, and that Turks are pressing for cession of railway line.

Is there any truth in this, and is danger of French yielding to Turkish pressure sufficiently serious to justify action on our part?

E 6605/357 89)

No. 279

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 29.)

(No. 210.)

Sir,

Damascus, October 15, 1925.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 210 of the 11th instant regarding the attack on Mr. Borland, I have the honour to enclose herewith copy of a note addressed to me by Mr. Lias, a British subject and ex-headmaster of Victoria College at Alexandria, regarding an attack by a band on a house close to him.

1. As he reached Elhanieh, the suburb almost at the end of the oasis and regarded a sort of desert in the distance, a low wall about 7 feet high suddenly, at a turning, came upon a lorry stationary across the road. In it were some armed men. The lorry was brought to a dead stop. Both Mr. Borland and the chauffeur jumped out of the car and ran back out of sight of the brigands. They finally met a car coming out of the town, which they stopped, and in it they came to the consulate.

2. The plundered lorry was apparently a civilian one. Two persons in it, one of whom was a gentleman returning from work, were wounded, one, I think, and mortally.

3. The band was that of Akkanbeh, which committed the attack recounted in the 5th press extract enclosed in my despatch No. 194 of the 5th instant. The daring of the brigands can be estimated by the fact that they were easily engaged in pilaging a lorry at the very entrance to the town and found time while so doing to hold up another car.

4. The chauffeur of the lorry which had apparently some time been damaged for immediate repair, brought back the wounded in Mr. Borland's car, which had been emptied of its contents by the brigands. I inspected the car on its return. Its cushions were drenched with the blood of the wounded, and the hood and the car itself riddled with bullets. It was little short of a miracle that none of these bullets hit either Mr. Borland or his chauffeur.

5. Mr. Borland, who was naturally rather upset by the peril he had run, said that, if he had known the dangerous state of the road, he would not have come to Damascus. I am sure that the danger of the road is a serious one, and I am sure that the French policy of endeavouring to conceal, not only from the public, but also from the British subjects, the true state of affairs in the country, is a policy which would warn me of danger in any given neighbourhood, I would as discreetly warn British subjects, and thus British lives would not be exposed to unnecessary danger.

I have, &c.  
W. A. SMART

E 6606 357 89)

No. 280

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 29.)

(No. 211.)

Sir,

Damascus, October 15, 1925.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 210 of to-day's date regarding the attack on Mr. Borland, I have the honour to enclose herewith copy of a note addressed to me by Mr. Lias, a British subject and ex-headmaster of Victoria College at Alexandria, regarding an attack by a band on a house close to him.



2. This band was one of those which has been attacking the skirts of the town and recently attacked and robbed a carriage quite close to the Victoria (British) Hospital.

3. Most of the British subjects, natives of the United Kingdom as distinct from Asiatics or Africans, are unfortunately in rather exposed quarters. I do not think they run much danger, if the French authorities will only let me know frankly what I am to expect in the way of trouble for them. The policy of concealment is disconcerting and puts some responsibility on my shoulders, not only towards British subjects, but also towards the consular corps, of which I am doyen. I fear that some of my countrymen are coming to look at me as a man who is not doing his duty. My colleagues have long been clamouring for a consular corps meeting with a view to making representations to the French authorities. As I know that none of my colleagues are charitably inclined towards the French and that such a meeting could only result in a collective representation distasteful to the French, I have steadily evaded calling the meeting.

4. However, a view of the situation by one of the French authorities to put foreigners suitably on their guard, and in view of the feeling among Europeans other than French, as well as among the Moslems, I have felt obliged to address a strong note to the French delegation, copy of which I have the honour to enclose. M. Aubouard was at first rather upset by this note, but I calmed him down in a very amicable interview to-day. I explained to him again in greater detail my double responsibility as a diplomat and as a man of letters, and I will be sure to give information with the utmost discretion. But, I added, he could not expect me to continue guiding my nationals and my colleagues in a way desired by the French if this France, I mean, was going to be responsible for our worst incidents. While, therefore, I would continue my previous policy as far as possible, I must pass some of the responsibility on to his shoulders.

5. M. Aubouard said that he was quite sure of my friendliness, and gave me to understand that he would let me have a tranquillising reply. As of course he is not responsible for the actions of the French authorities, I am sure that the strong terms of my note were not dictated by any unfriendliness to him.

6. The situation is not, in my opinion, sufficiently serious to advise British subjects to leave Damascus, and the hint on the subject in my enclosed note was only made with a view to warning the French authorities to consider the safety of our people.

7. I would mention that the French have just begun to use gas in the town, that it is impossible to deal with a serious rebellion by ostrich-like methods. Although martial law has not been actually proclaimed, the town presents all the appearances of a military régime. All circulation in the town after 8 P.M. has just been prohibited.

I have, &c.

W. A. SMART.

Enclosure 1 in No. 280.

Mr. Lias to Consul Smart

Damascus, October 14, 1925.

Sir, IN yesterday's issue of "Alif-Ba" the official communiqué states that in spite of absurd rumours (presumably to the contrary) calm reigns throughout Syria.

2. The night of the 13th was very quiet, and no shooting was heard. In the morning eighteen shots near this house, some of them certainly not farther off than a village, were heard. I am sure that a statement is repeated in yesterday's issue of "Alif-Ba."

3. I am sure you are aware that the three of our leading newspapers have recently been suppressed by the authorities, the third to suffer having previously enjoyed a G. O. C. status.

4. I venture to send you this letter for your information.

Yours faithfully,

C. R. LIAS.

Enclosure 2 in No. 330

Consul Smart to M. Aubouard

Damascus, 14 octobre 1925.

M. le Délégué,

J'ai l'honneur de vous faire savoir que Mr. Lias, sujet britannique, qui, avec sa femme, habite à bout de la rue Maadani, c'est-à-dire dans le quartier neuf à côté d'Arrou, m'a fait savoir que, dans la nuit du 12-13 courant une attaque a été faite sur une maison tout près de la sienne par une bande armée. Les coups de fusil ont retenti tout autour de la maison de mon ressortissant. Cette bande serait partie de celles qui se sont attaquées à divers quartiers extérieurs de la ville, et se sont même démenées tout près de l'Hôpital anglais.

Je vous prie de bien vouloir me faire savoir si les autorités françaises sont à même d'assurer la sécurité des ressortissants britanniques dans la ville de Damas. Dans le cas que non, je me propose d'avertir mes ressortissants qu'ils fassent bien de quitter la Syrie méridionale le plus tôt possible.

En attendant, je vous prie de bien vouloir faire établir au quartier où habite Mr. et Mrs. Lias un poste militaire français. A présent ce quartier n'est protégé que par un veilleur de nuit armé d'un bâton. L'expérience a démontré pleinement que les gendarmes syriens ne suffisent pas à protéger les habitants contre les bandes.

Je vous prie de bien vouloir faire prendre des mesures du même genre pour protéger l'Hôpital anglais, qui est très exposé aux attaques de ces bandes.

Il y a aussi d'Anglais et d'Anglaises figurés dans le premier Hôpital français, quartier israélite, qui feraient tous les frais d'une incursion de l'est. Je vous prie de bien vouloir assurer à mes ressortissants dans ces deux quartiers une protection militaire adéquate.

La délégation n'a pas averti officiellement les étrangers du danger qu'ils courent à Damas. A ce moment-là, il n'y avait pas de danger, mais maintenant, c'est-à-dire des communications encouragées, les étrangers à rester ici. Si donc un sujet britannique est attaqué par les bandes circulant autour et dans la ville, ce sont les autorités mandataires qui en portent la responsabilité.

Veuillez &c.

W. A. SMART

E 6607/357, 39]

No. 281.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 29.)

(No. 212.)

Sir,

Damascus, October 13, 1925.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 204 of the 10th instant, I have the honour to report that a French force moved out into the gardens east of the town on the 12th instant.

2. The head of Hama and Karam was seized at El Zor, a village on the bank of the Barada, about 4 miles distant from the town. Apparently the band attacked the French force as they were advancing by firing from the strong retreat to El Zor, where it does not yet appear to have been suggested. The French admit eight killed.

3. The French troops then plundered and burnt the village of Maleiha behind the front (see the 1st paragraph of my above mention of despatch) presently in the ground of complicity with the brigands. They brought back to the town a number of the villagers, among whom a British Indian subject, Selim Kharullah Aghwani. Him, with others, they subsequently shot. I have already reported this incident in my telegram No. 18 of to-day's date, and I am submitting a separate report on the subject. They then turned their attention to the Druse village of Jaramana, which is also behind the front and about 3 miles from the town. In it is the country house of Nassib Bey Bakri, a Damascene notable who has joined the rebels in the Jebel Druse. They plundered and burnt this village on similar grounds of complicity with the rebels. In the village they plundered the house of Fakhri Kanafan, honorary cavas of this consulate. This incident was also reported in my above-mentioned telegram, and a separate report will be submitted on this subject.

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4. After these exploits the French force returned to Damascus. A number of younger males collected from various places were brought prisoners into the town, and some of them were shot. Sixteen corpses were exposed in the principal square of the town to impress the population.

5. The loot of the two above-mentioned villages was openly sold by French African soldiers in the town.

6. The burning of villages guilty of collusion with the bands is no doubt militarily necessary. The inconvenience of such action is that it multiplies the numbers of homeless, ruined men, who inevitably swell the brigand ranks.

7. M. Aubouard informs me that a further expedition in this region will shortly be made. He also told me that a military force was now engaged in sweeping the Beirut road neighbourhood, where attacks in cars have taken place. Another force, I understand from him, is about to move into the Wadi-el Aja.

8. I suggested that it was difficult to deal with these lands while the Jebel Druse remained unconquered. He admitted this, and said that it would be necessary gradually to occupy the whole mountain. Unfortunately, he said, there were not at present enough troops available for the purpose. More would have to be brought from Egypt.

9. Tribal troubles, the back-wash of the Hama rebellion, continue in Central Syria, and the French troops appear to be quite unable to protect outlying villages against them.

10. Obviously the extent of the rebellion and disorders in Southern Syria is now too extensive for the French troops at General Ganelin's disposal. I expect that in the end the French will have to resort to the policy of attrition, the only one possible with the numbers of troops in the field—of flying columns entering the Jebel Druse, plundering villages and then returning to their base without doing anything but the dangerous policy of attrition, so seldom successful anywhere.

I have, &c.

W. A. SMART

E 5609, 257, 89.

No 282

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain—(Received October 29.)

(No. 214.)

Sir,

Damascus, October 17, 1925.

IN reply to your letter of the 14th inst., I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of a letter addressed to me by the French delegate regarding the measures for the protection of the British colony at Damascus. I also enclose a copy of my reply.

I think that the French authorities have now become alive to the necessity of measures for the protection of the outlying quarters of the town, where unfortunately, the British colony is mostly established. I trust, therefore, that my previous strong note has not been without effect in increasing the security of the people here.

I have, &c.

W. A. SMART

Enclosure 1 in No. 282.

M. Aubouard to Consul Smart

M. le Consul,

Damas, le 16 octobre 1925.

EN réponse à votre lettre du 14 octobre, j'ai l'honneur de vous faire connaître que la bande à laquelle vous faites allusion n'a été dispersée par les policiers du Karkool Amous, qui ont arrêté trois des individus qui la composaient; ce fait démontre clairement que la sécurité de cette partie de la ville n'est pas assurée uniquement "par un veilleur de nuit armé d'un bâton." Je crois devoir vous faire remarquer à cette occasion que nos veilleurs de nuit sont munis de revolvers.

Quant à la gendarmerie syrienne que vous incriminez, elle n'avait rien à voir dans cette affaire.

En ce qui concerne le quartier israélite, les mesures de police sont en cours dans la région en question et qu'elles ont déjà donné des résultats fort satisfaisants. Chaque nuit un barrage de gendarmerie est organisé autour de ce quartier.

Vous restez entièrement libre de donner à vos ressortissants tous conseils que vous croirez devoir leur apporter, soit dans le sens d'une vigilance accrue, soit dans tout autre sens.

En résumé, et sous réserve de circonstances éventuelles de force majeure que nous ne saurions prévoir dans l'Etat le mieux organisé l'autorité mandataire est en mesure d'assurer la sécurité de tous, ainsi qu'elle l'a fait jusqu'ici. Je ne sache pas, d'ailleurs, que le nombre des attaques à main armée ou des cambriolages soit plus grand à Damas qu'il ne l'est dans toute agglomération du même ordre en France ou même en Angleterre.

Veuillez, &c.

AUBOUARD

Enclosure 2 in No. 282.

Consul Smart to M. Aubouard.

M. le Délégué,

Damas, le 17 octobre 1925.

JE vous remercie de votre lettre d'hier et des assurances que vous avez bien voulu me donner au sujet des mesures qui ont été prises pour assurer la sécurité des étrangers, y compris les ressortissants britanniques, à Damas.

Je crois pouvoir parler au nom de tous mes compatriotes en exprimant ma reconnaissance pour les mesures prises par vous pour assurer la sécurité de la colonie britannique à Damas. Je suis convaincu que ces mesures particulières qui pourrissent, à un moment donné ou sur des points déterminés, s'imposent pour la protection de mes compatriotes.

C'est dans les deux quartiers de Hab Touma et des Israélites que se trouvent dispersés les Anglais et les Anglaises dont mention a été faite dans ma lettre du 14 courant, non pas seulement dans le quartier israélite.

En vous assurant de nouveau de ma confiance dans la vigilance des autorités locales, je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur le Délégué, l'assurance de ma haute estime et de mon profond respect.

Veuillez, &c.

W. A. SMART

E 5604 6604 89.

No 283

Consul-General Mayers to Mr. Austen Chamberlain—(Received October 29.)

(No. 131.)

Sir,

Beirut, October 20, 1925.

I HAVE the honour to report that, as a consequence of the various troubles through which Syria and the Lebanon have been passing, the last time a riot, the commercial situation in Beirut gives some room for anxiety.

The situation in the matter of the collection of debts in the interior. Some bills will

[14003]

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never be met, others are postponed. It is felt that a crop of bankruptcies is the least result to be expected from the serious political situation.

3. The banks are said to be very exacting in granting credits, and the custom-house is full of consignments hung up by the uncertainty of the outlook.

I have, &c.

NORMAN MAYERS

No. 284

Consul, Damascus, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 29)

(No. 25.)

(Telegraphic.)

MY telegram No. 20

Damascus, October 29, 1925.

Four Syrian families, the Kader family and his relations, responded to my request for assistance to protect French property in the quarter abandoned by French troops during recent fighting.

It is reported that the French authorities are at present the family apparently on the ground of the French authorities. The French authorities are at present the family apparently on the ground of the French authorities.

I have now had time to get round to examine British damage. Fortunately, losses are likely to be much less than feared. Sufferers are mainly the more modest class of Asiatic subjects or mandatory nationals. I am also now hopeful that direct British commercial losses may be insignificant, because it has been ascertained that merchants, in anticipation of trouble, had largely emptied the bazaars, removing goods to their private houses, especially the staple lines in which we are more particularly interested. Indirect damage, by failure of ruined Damascus merchants to meet obligations to British firms, cannot of course be estimated.

(Sent by post to Bagdad, Jerusalem, Amman, Beirut and Aleppo.)

Do you think I could inform French delegate that while not wishing to interfere in French affairs, arrest of persons who protect English colony will cause regret amongst British public? It would be necessary for me to add that I make the communication with your knowledge.

E 6643 5638 65

No. 285

The Marquess of Crewe to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 30)

(No. 2290)

Sir,

Paris, October 29, 1925.

I have just received report that King Faisal was yesterday to-day, as spoken to Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen about the interview which King Faisal had yesterday with M. Briand and M. Berthelot.

2. He said that the King had confined himself to general expressions of cordiality to France in Syria. M. Berthelot and M. Briand had of their own accord gone more into detail. They had both informed King Faisal confidentially that General Sarrail was to be recalled, that there was to be a change of policy in Syria and that a civil Governor would be appointed. They had every intention of acting in the closest unity with His Majesty's Government, whose views on the Mosul question they shared. The harmony of action between France, Great Britain and Iraq would leave the Turks in an isolated position. The French Government proposed to institute closer relations with Iraq and would appoint a consular representative.

As regards the position of General Sarrail, it may be added that the Director of the Quai d'Orsay, Press Bureau to-day informed the British press correspondents, though not for publication, that General Sarrail's recall was practically certain.

I have, &c.

CREWE.

No. 286

Sir R. Lindsay to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 30)

(No. 127)

(Telegraphic)

Constantinople, October 29, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 130

Negotiations on Syrian frontier here have made no progress, as the Turkish delegates are all natives of the frontier region and unable to make any concessions. The French Ambassador has now gone to Angora and means to discuss direct with the Turkish Government.

There may be considerable risk that in exchange for some territorial or other *quid pro quo* the French might agree to make some concessions as to the use of the railway, though they might not go so far as to concede it. I think that reminder at Paris might be judicious.

No. 287

Consul, Damascus, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 30)

(No. 26)

(Telegraphic.) R

Damascus, October 30, 1925

MY telegram No. 23

I have now had time to get round to examine British damage. Fortunately, losses are likely to be much less than feared. Sufferers are mainly the more modest class of Asiatic subjects or mandatory nationals. I am also now hopeful that direct British commercial losses may be insignificant, because it has been ascertained that merchants, in anticipation of trouble, had largely emptied the bazaars, removing goods to their private houses, especially the staple lines in which we are more particularly interested. Indirect damage, by failure of ruined Damascus merchants to meet obligations to British firms, cannot of course be estimated.

(Sent by post to Bagdad, Jerusalem, Amman, Beirut and Aleppo.)

No. 288

Sir W. Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to Consul Smart (Damascus).

(No. 18.)

(Telegraphic)

Foreign Office, October 30, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 25 of 29th October: Abdul Kader family

Safety of British subjects must be our chief consideration and should not be imperilled by the exaggerated suspiciousness of French colonials.

You are therefore authorised to speak to the French delegate in sense which you suggest in telegram under reply.

I am taking steps to inform French Government.

(Repeated to Paris, No. 395 (by bag).)

No. 289

Sir W. Tyrrell (for the Secretary of State) to the Marquess of Crewe (Paris)

(No. 306)

[By Bag]

Foreign Office, October 30, 1925

MR. SMART'S telegram No. 25 of 29th October and my reply No. 18 to him.

You will be glad to hear that Mr. Smart has expressed to him earnest hope that French Government will instruct local authorities in Syria to co-operate in all possible ways with Mr. Smart.

While we realise the great difficulties with which the French have to contend, and sympathise with them, we cannot ignore the interests and protection of British subjects, and those who have come to their support. In the absence of French protection His Majesty's consul is bound to rely upon his means for assisting his subjects.

(Repeated to Damascus, No. 18, in cypher.)

No. 280

*Consul General Beirut, to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 31)*(No. 27)  
(Telegraphic)

Beirut, October 31, 1925

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry

"High Commissioner recalled to Paris to explain. General Duport Acting High Commissioner

(Repeated to Bagdad and Palestine)

No. 291

*Consul Smart to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 31)*

(No. 27)

(Telegraphic) R.

Damascus, October 31, 1925

REPORTS arriving here of violent anti French agitation in Moslem countries under our aegis against French bombardment of Damascus

I venture to hope that recommendations contained in penultimate paragraph of my despatch No. 220 of 25th October, on the way, with full account may be given particular effect to in such countries and that High Commissioners of Egypt, Palestine and Iraq may be able to exert their influence to restrain the agitation, which may imperil Anglo-French solidarity and consequently all mandatory peace, whether French or British, in those parts

(Repeated to Bagdad, No. 25, Jerusalem, No. 11, and Cairo. Sent by post to Beirut, Aleppo and Amman)

E 6680 357 89

No. 292

*The Marquess of Crewe to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 1)*

(No. 2304.)

Sir,

Paris, October 30, 1925

IN my despatch No. 2247 of the 23rd October I had the honour to inform you of the position in France and Syria and the situation regarding the situation in Syria. Events of the past ten days have only served to increase this situation. As usual, practically no news from French sources has been obtainable regarding the situation in Syria. The reports published in the British newspapers have been widely reproduced and commented on. In the meantime, the situation in Syria has been further complicated by the fact that the French Government has not been for the fall of the Government, even more attention would no doubt have been paid by the Paris newspapers to the Syrian situation.

It is now generally known in Damascus and elsewhere that the French Government has been very busy before other matters and has been unable to devote much attention to the situation in Syria. While the French Government is so busy, the situation in Syria is becoming more and more serious. The French Government is not expected to take any effective steps to restore the situation in Syria, and this at a time when any unexpected drain upon the French exchequer may have far-reaching results.

A complete breakdown of the situation in Syria is to be expected, and the renewal of the attack upon General Sarrail. The press is united practically in its denunciation of the High Commissioner, only the "Euvre" attempts to defend him

by endeavouring to make out that the various religious bodies in the Lebanon are at the moment of the situation in Syria is serious to a degree. It is now practically universally recognised, even by the French Government, that the situation in Syria is serious to a degree. The appointment was an absolute blunder. The High Commissioner has shown himself completely incapable of understanding the native psychology or of dealing tactfully and diplomatically with the various problems with which he has been confronted. No one has his efforts as a soldier met with any more success. It is now generally known that General Sarrail will be removed from his post very shortly. M. Briand, who all along is known to have been anxious for his recall, is understood to have insisted on this. Although no official announcement has yet been made public, the director of the Press Department at the Quai d'Orsay yesterday privately informed various foreign journalists that General Sarrail's days were numbered, while M. Berthelot, in conversation with King Feisal's private secretary, confirmed this statement. It is rumoured in several of the newspapers that General Sarrail's immediate successor will be General Guillaumat, whose main task will be to retrieve the military situation. Once this has been done he will in all probability be succeeded by a civil High Commissioner. The name of M. Paul Boncour has been suggested in some quarters as a possible nominee.

4. While there can, of course, be no doubt that General Sarrail must be considered as largely responsible for the present state of affairs in Syria, it is hard to believe that he is solely to blame for all that has happened during his ten months' stewardship. It would seem that there must be something radically wrong with the system at present followed by the French in their administration of the Syrian territories. The prevalent report that it is intended to appoint a civil High Commissioner would seem to show that the authorities at home have realised that drastic changes are required.

5. The general deterioration in the situation can hardly fail to strengthen the feeling of a large body of French public opinion, referred to in paragraph 5 of my despatch under reference, that the Syrian mandate should be abandoned. This policy of "scuttle" will gain more and more adherents as long as the present unsatisfactory state of affairs continues.

6. In this connection it may perhaps be worth remarking that in the various articles which have recently appeared in the press discussing France's position as a mandatory Power in Syria, no reference has been made to the fate of the native population in such an event. It would seem to be entirely forgotten that France was entrusted with the mandate by the League of Nations for the benefit and the progressive amelioration of the native inhabitants of the country, and not with the object of increasing France's prestige in the Near East.

7. Several newspapers have expressed the fear that if the present troubles continue, the League of Nations will be forced to intervene in the whole matter, and from the tone of the articles it is to be inferred that the French themselves apprehend that the results of any such enquiry are unlikely to be favourable to the French. Another matter which has somewhat shaken the general exposure is the fact that it is understood that the American Ambassador in Paris has been instructed to enter a protest against the manner in which Damascus was shelled with gas, and that the American residents have been ordered to leave the city.

8. It is a well-known fact that the question of Syria will loom largely in the proceedings of the forthcoming parliamentary session.

I have, &c  
CREWE.

E 6678 357 89

No. 2311

*The Marquess of Crewe to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 2.)*

No. 2311)

Sir,

Paris, October 31, 1925.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 2201 of the 20th October I have the honour to inform you that General Sarrail has been recalled from his post as High Commissioner in Syria.

As you will observe from the text of the official communiqué issued last night, a copy of which is enclosed herein, it is intended eventually to appoint a civilian as

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High Commissioner when the system of government to be pursued in Syria shall have been finally decided. This question is now under discussion by a committee which has been sitting in Paris under the presidency of M. Paul-Boncour since July last.

3. Until such time as the civilian High Commissioner shall be appointed, General Sarrail is to remain in Syria as a military commander.

4. To judge by reports in to-day's newspapers, it would seem that the post of High Commissioner in Syria was definitely offered by the Government to M. Paul Boncour, who, however, refused it, stating that he preferred to remain in Paris and continue to work as president of the above-mentioned committee. It is also stated that the post was offered to M. Berenger, while the names of M. Franklin Bouillon and M. Albert Sarraut, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, are also mentioned in this connection.

I have, &c  
CRAWF.

Enclosure in No. 293

Extract from the "Echo de Paris" of October 31, 1925.

SARRAIL KAPUT.

A MINUTE, la Présidence du Conseil a communiqué la note suivante concernant les mesures qui ont été prises par le Conseil de Cabinet tenu dans la soirée :

"L'organisation définitive du mandat syrien, donné à la France par la Société des Nations, est confiée depuis juillet à une commission, présidée par M. Paul-Boncour, qui poursuit ses travaux."

Le Gouvernement a décidé de nommer un Haut-Commissaire civil quand le mandat sera organisé.

Le Général Sarrail a été invité à rentrer à Paris pour fournir au Gouvernement et à la commission tous renseignements utiles."

Le Général Dupont, qui vient d'arriver en Syrie, est chargé de l'intérim jusqu'à designation du Haut-Commissaire civil.

No. 294

The Marquess of Crewe to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 2)

No. 300  
(Telegraphic)

[By Bag]

Paris, October 31, 1925

YOUR telegram No. 306 and Mr. Smart's telegram No. 25

M. Briand was in the country to-day, so I went to see M. Berthelot, and explained to him the contents of your telegram.

He spoke in terms of the greatest contempt for General Sarrail, whose recall he welcomed, saying that the general's excuse for having given no warning to foreigners of the impending bombardment, by almost boasting that he had not warned French citizens either, would be comic if the facts were not so serious. The general had been told in sharp terms that a French commander was doubly bound to safeguard the nationals of other countries, and from the tone used by M. Berthelot I have no doubt that he was very much ashamed of the conduct of the general.

Nothing had been heard in Paris of the Emir Said or his family, but a telegram would be sent at once to the effect that as much consideration as possible should be shown to a man who had done his best to protect the British colony, which General Sarrail had himself not done, as M. Berthelot remarked in a parenthesis. He was evidently thoroughly ashamed of the bombardment, and of the whole conduct of the French authorities in the suppression of the rising.

No. 295

The Marquess of Crewe to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 3.)

No. 41

[By Bag]

Paris, November 2, 1925

I WENT to see King Feisal at his hotel by appointment this afternoon. He spoke with great satisfaction of his visit to England, both with regard to public affairs and to the excellent effect on his health, he having gained several pounds in weight, which I can well believe to be a benefit to him.

He was also well satisfied with his interviews here with MM. Briand and Berthelot and with the President of the Republic. They all had assured him of their conviction that France and England could work in perfect concert with Iraq for the benefit of his country, and the King seemed genuinely impressed by the attitude of the French statesmen.

Yesterday, however, a new situation had arisen by his having met M. Berthelot at a dinner given by Prince Lotfallah, when the King had been asked whether he could not put off his departure from Paris for two or three days. He had said that this would cause great inconvenience, but he was pressed to come and talk the matter over at the Quai d'Orsay this afternoon, though the hurry of a dinner party did not enable him to gather more than that the French hoped he might make his journey by way of London. King Feisal spoke, as I thought, with some shrewdness. He could quite see the advantage that would come from friendly association with the French on their Syrian frontier, as it would help to carry out the plan of three-cornered friendship alluded to above. On the other hand, he was not going to commit himself. He does not desire to run the risk of being used as a puppet in the hands of the French, which are still proceeding. Also he did not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Syria, he had anything but a pleasant recollection of his previous treatment by the French when he was in Paris. The French, he said, were very different from the French in Paris. In fact, he is evidently afraid of being made a cat's-paw of for the benefit of the French occupation in Syria, and of incurring the hearty dislike of his co-religionists in the process. I said that of course I could have no opinion on the matter, but I would only say that it would be wise before coming to a decision, to ascertain precisely the state of affairs as regards both the forces engaged in a rising against the French occupation and also the bands of brigands merely out for plunder. King Feisal said that he expected to be able to let me know to-morrow the result of his conversation at the Quai d'Orsay. He added that he had heard from the French Government that an attempt would be made to get M. Henry de Jouvenel to go as High Commissioner and there seemed to be hope that he would accept. I may mention that when I saw M. Berthelot on 31st October he told me in strict confidence, that they had in their minds M. Paul Doumer for the post, but he did not think there was much chance of his agreeing to go. I therefore did not think the possibility worth reporting, and it seems that either the idea has not been pursued or that M. Doumer has refused. He might well do so on the grounds of age.

No. 296

Mr. Austen Chamberlain to Consul Smart (Damascus)

No. 20

October 31, 1925

Foreign Office, November 3, 1925

MY DEAR MR. CHAMBERLAIN, 18 of 30th October. Abdul Kader family, last paragraph.

My Ministry for Foreign Affairs state that nothing has been heard in Paris of the Emir Said or his family, but a telegram would be sent at once to the effect that as much consideration as possible should be shown to a man who had done his best to protect the British colony.

[E 6763 357 89]

N. 29.

Consul Smart to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 4.)

(No. 21.)

Sir,

Damascus, October 23, 1925.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 21 of to-day's date, I have the honour to transmit herewith the note of the consular corps regarding the recent incursion into Damascus and the bombardment of the town by the French.

1. In my telegram No. 22 of to-day's date I have referred to the question of the foreigners killed and foreign property damaged by French shells. Hitherto only two deaths of Italian Tripolitan subjects, one of whom was a woman, have been reported. This question may become serious as the extent of such losses is ascertained. I presume that there can be no doubt as to the direct responsibility of the French Government for reparations.

2. I would mention that in the early evening of the 18th instant the French dropped a shell into the Irish Presbyterian School at the very moment when I was vainly imploring the general commanding the troops and the delegate to let me pass through the lines, not yet withdrawn, and bring out the two English ladies (Miss Hall and Miss Alexander) in the school. By a miracle they were not hurt, and, after a painful sojourn in their wood-cellar, were rescued by a Canadian, Mr. Elhey, fortunately outside the French lines, and taken to a safer place. Both the general and M. Aubouard had assured me that these ladies would be in no danger if they stayed quietly in their house.

4. I am at present too overwhelmed with work to be able to submit the general report promised in my telegram No. 20 of the 21st instant. The panic caused by the threat of a renewal of the bombardment to-morrow has submerged the consulate with British subjects, Iraklis, Palestinians, &c., seeking guarantees of safety or facilities for departure. The roads are blocked and the Beirut Railway is none too safe. Besides, the rare and small narrow gauge trains are packed with fugitives. Although I can hardly believe that the French, in view of previous experience of their vagaries, take any risks. I am therefore struggling with the difficulty of getting out of the city the nationals in case of bombardment. In these circumstances I hope you will understand how impossible it is for me at present to write detailed reports.

I have, &amp;c.

W. A. SMART.

Enclosure in No. 297.

Consul Smart to M. Aubouard.

Décanat du Corps consulaire, Damas,  
le 21 octobre 1925.

M. le Délégué,

Je suis chargé par le corps consulaire de vous faire la communication suivante sur les événements à Damas.

A maintes reprises, par des communications orales et écrites aux consuls, par des communiqués publics annonçant le calme complet à Damas, les autorités mandataires ont assuré les étrangers de leur sécurité à Damas. Par suite de ces assurances officielles de l'autorité tenue responsable par la Société des Nations et le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, les consuls, malgré leurs inquiétudes, n'ont pas conseillé à leurs ressortissants de quitter la ville.

Du 18 au 20 du mois courant, par suite de l'incursion d'une bande peu considérable, aidée par des éléments peu nombreux de la population, les autorités mandataires, sans donner aucun avertissement aux étrangers, afin qu'ils puissent se mettre en sûreté, ont cru devoir retirer leurs troupes de la ville, laissant sans aucune protection les étrangers, y compris les femmes et les enfants, aussi bien que la population chrétienne et israélite indigène.

Pendant même temps et sans donner aucun avertissement, elles ont soumis la ville à un bombardement prolongé et très étendu, tel que d'habitude ne subissent que des places fortes. Elles ont laissé les étrangers sous ce bombardement, tandis que les Français ont été retirés hors du danger. Par suite des difficultés de circulation, les pertes de vie et

les dégâts matériels subis par les étrangers n'ont pas encore été constatés, mais on se rend compte que les pertes sont considérables et que quelques étrangers ont été tués par des obus français.

Vu les circonstances indiquées le corps consulaire est obligé de constater les faits et de signaler par la présente les événements actuels.

Etant donné que les assurances indiquées au commencement de cette note n'ont pas été réalisées et vu l'action augmentée des troupes françaises, le corps consulaire ne peut plus prendre la responsabilité de conseiller à ses ressortissants de continuer à séjourner à Damas. Le corps consulaire a donc décidé de recommander à ses ressortissants de quitter la ville et de se rendre à la disposition des étrangers qui voudront suivre ce conseil.

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A défaut d'une pareille protection extérieure, rien n'empêchera d'autres bandes d'entrer dans la ville, qui deviendra encore une fois le théâtre d'opérations militaires dont s'effrayeront les étrangers qui s'y sont établis en se fiant à la protection française.

Il est à remarquer que les pertes occasionnées par les bombardements et incendies dans les principaux centres commerciaux de la ville auront des répercussions inévitables et prolongées sur les maisons européennes et américaines en relations d'affaires avec les commerçants damascains ruinés par ces destructions. D'ailleurs, il y a eu sans doute des marchandises appartenant à des Européens et à des Américains en dépôt dans les magasins de la ville.

Les troupes françaises auraient pu empêcher l'entrée de la ville. Un peu de protection extérieure aurait pu empêcher d'autres bandes d'entrer dans la ville, qui deviendra encore une fois le théâtre d'opérations militaires dont s'effrayeront les étrangers qui s'y sont établis en se fiant à la protection française. Il est à remarquer que les pertes occasionnées par les bombardements et incendies dans les principaux centres commerciaux de la ville auront des répercussions inévitables et prolongées sur les maisons européennes et américaines en relations d'affaires avec les commerçants damascains ruinés par ces destructions. D'ailleurs, il y a eu sans doute des marchandises appartenant à des Européens et à des Américains en dépôt dans les magasins de la ville.

Je suis chargé de vous faire savoir les faits et de recommander à vos Gouvernements respectifs des copies de cette note.

Je profite, &amp;c.

W. A. SMART,

Doyen du Corps consulaire.

[E 6765 357 89]

No. 298

Consul Smart to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 4.)

(No. 218.)

Sir,

Damascus, October 24, 1925.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 21 of the 23rd instant and No. 24 of the 24th instant, and my despatch No. 216 of the 23rd instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith the note of the consular corps regarding the recent events at Damascus.

I have, &amp;c.

W. A. SMART



Enclosure in No. 299.

M. Aubouard to Consul Smart.

M. le Consul, Damascus, le 23 octobre 1925  
 J'ai l'honneur de vous accuser réception de la note collective que vous avez voulu me faire parvenir sous numéro et en date du 21 octobre. Cette note est dès maintenant soumise à un examen attentif. Pour me permettre de réunir les éléments d'appréciation nécessaires, je vous demande de vouloir bien me faire connaître très exactement les dommages subis par les ressortissants étrangers, soit dans leurs personnes, soit dans leurs biens. Veuillez agréer, &c.  
 Le Délégué du Haut-Commissaire auprès des  
 États de Syrie et du Djebel Druze,  
 ALBOUARD.

E 8786 357,89]

No. 299

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 4.)

(No. 219.) Damascus, October 24, 1925  
 Sir,  
 WITH reference to my telegram No. 24 of to-day's date, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a letter from the French delegate announcing that no second bombardment of Damascus would take place in connection with recent events.  
 2. Apparently the notables are still refusing to produce the 100,000 Turkish gold pieces and to guarantee the payment of the fine and the delivery of the 5,000 rifles. The French of course have by now realised the immense damage they have inflicted on respectable native and foreign interests by their wanton bombardment and were really anxious to find some way out of executing the threat of a second bombardment.  
 I have, &c.  
 W. A. SMART

Enclosure 1 in No. 299.

M. Aubouard to Consul Smart

M. le Consul, Damascus, le 23 octobre 1925.  
 J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser le texte de la communication faite ce jour à la population de la ville de Damas par le Gouvernement syrien et le délégué du Haut-Commissaire de la Puissance mandataire.  
 Je vous demande de bien vouloir en faire connaître la teneur à vos ressortissants. Veuillez agréer, &c.  
 AUBOUARD

Enclosure 2 in No. 299

Announcement made to Damascus Population.

Le Gouvernement syrien et le délégué du Haut-Commissaire de la Puissance mandataire portent à la connaissance de la population ce qui suit

En ce qui concerne l'indemnité à payer par la ville, les répondants ont donné leurs signatures et le versement est en cours d'exécution.

Quant aux fusils, la question est également réglée. Le versement est commencé et toutes garanties sont prises pour que le versement intégral soit effectué.

En conséquence, la position des répondants à une attaque pour les derniers événements est en principe écartée.

No. 300

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 4.)

(No. 29) Damascus, November 4, 1925  
 (Telegraphic) R.  
 ALL Central and Southern Syria now overrun by rebel bands and railways under their menace. Line cut 9 miles south of Damascus by Druse, with whom strong French force engaged battle.  
 Communication with Irak interrupted.  
 Band advancing from east towards Damascus apparently scattered 3rd November within a few miles of city as result of French aerial action. Advance of bands, and subsequently smoke and sound of battle, caused another panic and exodus to coast.

(Sent to Bagdad, No 27 and Jerusalem No 12)

No. 301

The Marquess of Crewe to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 5.)

[By Bag]

(No 400 Confidential) Paris, November 4, 1925  
 (Telegraphic)  
 MY telegram No. 401 of 2nd November and Mr. Phipps's letter to Mr. Oliphant are hereby

K. I just received Mr. Phipps this afternoon, and informed him of the result of his meeting at the Quai d'Orsay this morning, at which M. Berthelot, M. Cluchant and M. Robert de Caix were present. M. Berthelot told King Feisal that the French Government intended to draw up an organic law for Syria, but that it was not yet quite ready. Meanwhile, he would be glad to have His Majesty's advice as to how the Syrian question should be dealt with. King Feisal thereupon replied that he would speak perfectly frankly, but only as a private individual, even at the risk of causing offence. He then proceeded to point out the difference in the situation in Irak, where there were only some 2,000 British troops collected together in their cantonments, and in Syria, in its disturbed condition, in spite of the presence of 30,000 French troops. Irak, moreover, enjoyed complete independence so far as internal affairs were concerned. If the French Government desired order to be re-established, the only advice he could offer was that they should proceed without delay to imitate the behaviour of the British in Irak, and to grant to Syria a similar Constitution. For this it was necessary for the French to select a suitable personage, and to propose him to the Syrians for election by plebiscite, either as King or as President of the Republic, whichever the French preferred. M. Berthelot replied that there were two vital differences between Irak and Syria. (a) The fact that Syria was not a united State but a collection of States where Irak was a unit. (b) That there was in Syria no outstanding personality such as King Feisal himself, who would be a great asset to the new State. Mr. Phipps replied that it was a great mistake to endeavour to divide up Syria into a series of States. Unity was essential and the sooner it was brought about the better although if necessary, a large measure of autonomy could be granted to the States in question. It was also absolutely essential in an Eastern country carefully to select a ruler. If this were done, and a Constitution on lines practically similar to that of Irak granted to Syria, he was convinced that calm would soon be restored. King Feisal told Mr. Phipps that M. Berthelot had received this advice remarkably well and had assured him that he would be guided by it. He begged His Majesty to inform the French Government at Amman to do all he could by letters or otherwise to reassure his friends in Syria as to French intentions, and to proceed in a similar manner on his return to Bagdad. Thus King Feisal promised to do, but pointed out that in return it was essential that the French should follow in every particular the advice which he had given them, for otherwise he would be accused of treachery towards his Syrian friends. M. Berthelot assured him that this would be done, and that a civilian governor, not

M. Henry de Jouvenel, who had refused the post, would shortly proceed to Syria and would get into touch with King Feisal and endeavour to work in collaboration with him to the best of his ability. His Majesty thereupon declared his willingness to allow the Emir Zeid to pass through Damascus on his return journey to England with a view to smoothing down affairs as far as possible. M. Berthelot then followed His Majesty to the door and said to him in an undertone pregnant with meaning: "Alas! we have lost you!"

Mr. Phipps enquired whether King Feisal had any particular candidate in view as Head of the Syrian State, to which His Majesty replied that he had not mentioned any to the French, but that, speaking quite privately, he considered that either of his brothers, the Emir Abdullah or the Emir Zeid, but particularly the latter, would be suitable. There was nobody in Syria of sufficient standing for the post, and he felt sure that if the Emir Zeid were proposed by means of a plebiscite he would be elected by an overwhelming majority. He said, however, that if His Majesty backed the candidature of anybody who appeared desirable to the British and French Governments, He would be grateful to learn at Amman whether his proposals outlined above, are approved by His Majesty's Government. He expressed the hope that the British and French Governments would support him, and the other two gentlemen present, and indeed altogether with his reception by the French authorities during his stay in Paris.

E 6841/357/89]

No 302.

The Marquess of Crewe to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 9.)

(No. 2359.)

Sir,

Paris, November 7, 1925.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on the 5th November the Chamber decided by 400 votes to 30 to postpone to a date to be decided later, after the return of General Sarrail, the interpellation of the Government regarding the present situation in Syria. The debate, which though at times heated and disturbed was of no real interest, was begun by various members of the *Bloc national*, who pressed for the immediate discussion of the interpellation. This proposal was strongly opposed by the President of the Council, who insisted that it was impossible for the Government to make an interpellation before General Sarrail had returned to France and made his promised report. After considerable discussion, in which it became clear that the Socialist party would support M. Painlevé in the question at issue, it was suggested that the date of the 20th November should be fixed for the interpellation. The President of the Council at first appeared to accept this motion, but taking offence at the speeches of some members of the Right, M. Painlevé later declared that he could not appear to surrender to their dictation, and must insist on the adjournment *sine die* of the interpellation. He did, however, promise that General Sarrail, who is expected to return to France on the 10th inst., would appear before the competent parliamentary commissions in order to give satisfaction to the Chamber. With the information for which it was waiting, it would be quite ready to invite the Chambers to discuss the general question. In view of this assurance, and no doubt because it was realised that the Socialists would vote with the Government, the Opposition decided not to press their motion and to abstain from voting. In the end the motion to adjourn the interpellation was carried with only thirty dissentients, nearly all of whom were Communists.

2. Very few speeches of any interest were made during the debate. The only speech of interest was made by M. Blum, speaking for the Socialist party, as they had in connection with Morocco, and that in their opinion the sooner Syria became an independent State the better. M. Blum, speaking for the Socialist party, declared that the particular question of General Sarrail's competence or responsibility for recent events was of no great interest to them. They were, however, anxious to have the whole question of the position of France in Syria, both as regards the past and the future, thoroughly investigated. The only announcement of any interest made by the President of the Council was a statement of the losses which the French troops,

as opposed to the North African and other native regiments, had suffered in Syria since 1920. These losses (killed, died of wounds or missing) were:—

|                                  |       |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| 1st to 15th July 1920            | 2,853 |
| 15th July 1920 to 15th July 1921 | 2,032 |
| 15th July 1921 to 15th July 1922 | 636   |
| 15th July 1922 to 15th July 1923 | 208   |
| 15th July 1923 to 15th July 1924 | 239   |
| 15th July 1924 to 15th July 1925 | 39    |
| 15th July 1925 to 15th July 1926 | 555   |

M. Painlevé and M. Briand appeared yesterday before the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Chamber in order to give certain explanations regarding the Syrian situation. According to the newspapers, M. Briand, replying to the suggestion of M. Berthelot, the Communist Deputy, that France should abandon her mandate, declared that France was bound by the League of Nations to fulfil the duties imposed upon her by the League of Nations. During the meeting of the Commission, M. Painlevé stated definitely that General Sarrail would not return to Syria, and that he would be replaced as High Commissioner by M. Henry de Jouvenel. This appointment has been recently foreshadowed by many newspapers, but I understood that M. de Jouvenel required some pressing before he accepted the post. It is now understood that M. de Jouvenel has accepted the post, and that the Ministerial Council, and that M. Briand declared that the Syrian mandate would, directly calm was restored, be reorganised on a basis of the widest autonomy.

I have, &c.  
CHAMBERLAIN.

E 6844, 357/89]

No 303.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 220.)

Sir,

Damascus, October 25, 1925.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 20 of the 21st instant, and subsequent correspondence by despatch and telegram, I have the honour to submit a summarised account of the recent disorders at Damascus.

2. In the last hours of darkness before dawn on Sunday, the 18th October, a band, about sixty strong, under Hassan al Kharrat (see my despatch No. 204 of the 10th instant), entered, unopposed, the Shaghhor (south-eastern) quarter of the town. This is the brothel quarter, and the band apparently obtained facilities for passing unnoticed over the roofs and through the women's apartments. It would be interesting to know what rewards Hassan al Kharrat promised to these Damascene Rahala when the Lord should have delivered the city into his hands. The invaders quietly murdered a number of unfortunate French North African soldiers, and in some cases the women with whom they were lying. The band worked its way slowly towards the Palais Azm, which is in the middle of the bazaars. Rumour, of the winged Oriental kind, preceded the invisible band creeping with frequent halts, through the brothel-maze. The bazaars began to close, carriages came jostling across the town with panic-stricken fugitives, alarm was general, but no one could furnish any reason for it, except that of "The Druses are coming," a cry so often repeated in the last few months that it was hardly believed any longer even by the credulous.

3. The Palais Azm, the famous old 18th century Arab palace, acquired by the French Government for an "Institut français d'Art et d'Archéologie musulmans," is in the middle of the bazaars. One wing of it has recently been arranged for the residence of the French High Commissioner during his visits to Damascus, and for motives of economy the residency formerly in the northern and essentially French part of the town. Sultan al Atrash, who came to Damascus on Saturday, the 17th October, and slept the night in the Palais Azm. On the Sunday morning he had left for Deraa with the French delegate, M. Aubouard, and the High Commissioner, M. Sarrail, who had been caught by the rebels in the Palais Azm. It seems probable that the High Commissioner was caught by the rebels during manoeuvre described above.



4. The band of Hassan-al Kharrat, who, as an ex-night-watchman, of course knew the town off by heart, got into the Palais Azm shortly after dark, by making a hole in the wall. He was a well-known and prominent figure. The Kharrats were in the palace.

5. Before this, however, a small band of Druses from the village of Jeramana burnt by the French (see my despatch No. 212 of the 15th instant), entered in the late afternoon the town to the east of the Shaghoor quarter by a broadish way running from outside the town along one side of the Jewish quarter to Straight Street. Here the band encountered a French detachment covering the inner end of the Jewish quarter, and fighting began. These Druse villagers were no doubt animated by a spirit of vengeance after the destruction of their homes.

6. About the same time Druses in moderate numbers from the villages immediately south and south-west of Damascus entered the Meydan (southern) quarter. It is said, though there seems to be considerable doubt on this point, that they were led by Nassib Bey Bakri, a Damascene notable who joined the rebels in the rebel Druse some time ago. His country house at Jeramana was burnt by the French. He had much to do with the organisation of the incursion generally. This band killed some Armenians in a refugee camp in the Meydan, and apparently also a few stray French soldiers.

7. No Druses from the mountain took part in the incursion, though the rebels, to frighten the French and encourage adhesions in the town, spread rumours of large Druse forces approaching. These rumours induced the small French force outside the town on the east to retreat round the city and rejoin the main French positions in the northern suburbs.

8. Thus, on Sunday evening the French troops were in positions north of the town, and in the morning they moved to the Hamidiyeh quarter, the northern railway stations and the Salhiyeh quarter. They also held the citadel situated in the extreme northern end of the bazaars. Detachments were covering the ends of the Jewish and Christian quarters in the extreme east and south east of the old town.

9. Gradually bad characters in each quarter disarmed or removed the police and joined in the firing. There can be no doubt that both the police and the gendarmerie were extremely lukewarm towards the Government.

10. The French over-estimated the seriousness of the position, mainly because they are so badly informed, and between 5 and 6 p.m. on the Sunday evening they began, without any warning to foreigners, to bombard the town with artillery and from the air. The bombardment lasted, with intermissions, until noon of Tuesday, the 20th October. Practically the whole of the Mussulman town was included in the bombardment.

11. The rebels made no serious attempt to attack the French positions, contenting themselves with aimless firing. The only serious opponents were, perhaps, those from outside. The townsmen who joined in, a few only in each quarter, were quite childish. A single tank, for instance, could have recaptured my quarter, which was the only place of importance. The French were not prepared for a bombardment. In some other quarters, I am told, the local rebels were even fewer. The total force was probably not more than a few hundred rebels in the town, and half of them were militarily valueless.

12. The French imagined that they were faced with a general revolution. They did not understand that there was no co-ordination whatever between the rebel elements in the different quarters. For instance, Hassan-al Kharrat and his lieutenant, Dib-us-Sheikh, came into my quarter, but they made no effort whatever to direct the rebel elements there. They both returned after coolly visiting some acquaintances in the quarter.

13. There was no doubt a general hope among the people that this incursion was one of a large Druse force, strong enough to turn out the hated French. Some, however, were not so sure, and a few were even more developed with considerable complacency, others were probably guilty of complicity. The obvious way to have dealt with the situation would have been to have contained the outside and only active elements, while getting into touch with the notables of the different quarters. These notables, if threatened by the destruction of their houses, would have cleared their own quarters of the insignificant local elements, and the French troops, with the freedom of movement, could then quickly have got rid of the small outside bands. By beginning to bombard immediately, by spreading the bombardment all over the town indiscriminately, no opportunity for early and rapid negotiations was given.

14. Of course, the great French difficulty was the absence of contact with influential local elements. Souhbi Bey, the President of the State of Syria, is a Turk, and his Ministers are largely of Turkish extraction or tradition. They have no influence with the Damascenes, by whom they are disliked. I am sure that things would have been different if Hakki Bey Al Azm, the former Governor of Damascus, had been in power. Though a tool of the French, he is a Damascene of good family and in close touch with the notables of Damascus. He would have made every effort to save his native town and the property of his many friends. He would have had no difficulty in establishing relations with the notables and combining with them measures to stop the fighting. Souhbi Bey was indifferent to the destruction of a town with which he has no intimate connection, and he was, anyhow, unable to exercise any influence over the notables.

15. At 11 a.m. on Monday, the 19th October, the French suddenly and without warning destroyed the Jewish quarter, the Salhiyeh quarter, and the Jewish quarters, thus leaving them entirely unprotected.

16. After that the French were never in close touch with the rebels. The French were not in close touch with the rebels, and they caught sight of, including several innocent neighbours of mine.

17. The outside rebels left the town on the morning of Tuesday, the 20th October, and some notables, including the Emir Said Jezairi, got into touch with the French, who promised to suspend the bombardment at noon, so that a conference might take place at 3 p.m. The few and scattered rebel townsmen gradually made themselves scarce, and during the last two hours of the bombardment there appeared to be no answering fire whatever from the town.

18. At the conference General Gamelin, who had arrived on the Monday and taken over the control of operations from General Soule, commander of the troops of the region of Damascus, and M. Aubouard demanded from the notables a fine of £T 200,000, quickly reduced to £T 100,000, and 3,000 rifles. If these demands were not met, the bombardment was to be renewed, meanwhile the town was to be responsible not only for preventing any firing by its inhabitants, but also for preventing any bands from entering. It was not explained how the citizens were to prevent bands from entering a town the whole of whose eastern and south-eastern sides were without any military protection whatever.

19. As was to be expected, the notables would not subscribe to these conditions. The French, however, were not deterred by the possibility of considerable foreign claims, the general disapproval of this inhuman treatment of an open town, began themselves to realise the impossibility of another bombardment. They therefore forced the Syrian Government and the municipality to guarantee the execution of the above mentioned conditions. An official announcement was made on the evening of the 23rd October that the bombardment would not take place.

20. Since the cessation of the bombardment there have been sporadic rifle and machine gun firing. Probably this can be accounted for by French soldiers firing at shadows. The northern suburbs are still like an armed camp, with barbed wire and sandbag defences. Such of the bazaars as have not been destroyed remain closed. Many of the merchants have fled or are in hiding.

21. The Palais Azm has been half destroyed by the rebels, who also burnt a house at the end of the Jewish quarter where were some Senegalese. A few neighbouring houses were consumed by the fire. Most of the rest of the destruction was due to the bombardment and deliberate incendiarism by the French. The whole of the space between Straight Street and the Hamidiyeh bazaar, that is to say between the two main arteries of the bazaars is a mass of ruins. The Meydan and Shaghoor quarters have suffered heavily from the bombardment. Other quarters have suffered less. Several old and valuable houses of Damascene notables have been burnt. The ruin is so extensive that it cannot be enumerated. An inspector of the Banco di Roma, who has been examining the situation with a view to the repercussions on his bank, told me that he estimated the damage from the destruction of buildings and merchandise &c., at about £1 million. This estimate is confirmed by others. Foreign losses are likely to be considerable. Damascus can be regarded as economically ruined. The loss of human life cannot yet be estimated.

22. The British consulate is in the middle of the Mussulman town. The other consulates are in the northern suburbs, that is to say, within the suburbs more or less covered by French military dispositions.

23 When the firing became audible at the consulate about 5 p.m. on the Sunday, I vainly tried to get into telephonic communication with some responsible authority. Finally, with the help of a Syrian policeman, I managed to get to Salhiyyeh. At the Etat-major I found General Sarraïl, M. Aubouard, General Soulé and Soubhi Bey. I had a longish conversation with M. Aubouard and General Soulé, who assured me that the English colony would be in no danger if they stayed quietly in their houses. I explained my apprehensions about the English colony in the Christian and Jewish quarters. I had already repeatedly pointed out to M. Aubouard the exposed position of these English people (see especially my despatch No. 211 of the 15th instant). I was on this occasion particularly anxious about two ladies, Miss Ball and Miss Alexander, in the Irish Presbyterian Mission School in the Jewish quarter, as well as about two of my countrymen close to them. I begged General Soulé to send someone with me to pass me through the French lines and bring these two ladies out. He refused, saying that he could not take the responsibility of anything happening to me. Both he and M. Aubouard continued to reassure me of the safety of our people.

24 Soubhi Bey, who had been in the city since the outbreak, was very anxious about the safety of the English colony. His departure at such a moment excited much comment. On arrival at Beirut he announced, as usual, to various persons, including the United States consul-general, that all was calm at Damascus.

25 I left the Etat-major under the disagreeable impression that the French hardly knew what they were about. I brought into one of the hotels in the Salhiyyeh quarter an English lady, whose house was in the gardens adjoining this district. As these gardens, her house was not the suitable place for an Englishwoman to spend the night in. I then returned to the consulate.

26 Mr. Vice-Consul Vaughan Russell, whose house is in Salhiyyeh, came to the consulate after the firing began, but arrived just after I had left. An alarmist cavass suggested that I had got into trouble, and Mr. Russell returned to Salhiyyeh to get measures taken to find me. We thus crossed each other on our ways back. Where his presence would be most valuable for communications to the French through him by telephone. I take this opportunity to express my appreciation of Mr. Russell's help, of which he was prodigal. With the vice-consul in the Government quarter and the consul in the rebel camp, the British consulate was probably the only authority thoroughly informed of what was going on.

27 I managed to get into communication with the Victoria (British) Hospital and the British Syrian Mission in the Christian quarter, but the French troops barred all passage to the Jewish quarter.

28 Between 9 and 10 p.m. local riflemen disarmed the police of my quarter, which remained in rebel hands until the end of the bombardment. I was thus isolated with only two cavasses and my personal servants. Telephonic communication was fortunately never interrupted.

29 The rebels were quite affable. They held up one of my cavasses, but let him go when he told them who he was. They began to dig a trench across the road in front of my gate, but accepted my advice to make it a little farther off. They then began to cut the tyres. When, however, the Italian chauffeur declared that he was English, they brought him and the car to the consulate. They even submitted to my expostulations against their firing at aeroplanes, which, I pointed out, would only return to the artillery with indications for the bombardment of our quarter.

30 During the whole of Monday, the 19th October, Mr. Russell, on telephonic instructions from me, harried the French civil and military authorities with a view to inducing them to take some interest in our colony. But the French were too obsessed with their own ideas of the safety of the English colony.

31 Realising that I had nothing to hope for from the French, I got into touch with the Moslems, who, I must record, behaved admirably. Enair Said Jezairli, whom I reminded of the great tradition of his grandfather, the famous Abdul Kadir, the protector of so many Christians during the 1830 massacre, went down to the Djinn, the most learned and most venerated of the ulama, and his son, the kadi, did

likewise. These Moslem interventions assured the Christian quarters against pillage. In other words, it was Islam and not the "Protectrice des Chrétiens en Orient" which protected the Christians in those critical days.

32 I only learnt in the evening of the withdrawal which had taken place in the morning of the troops at the ends of the Christian and Jewish quarters. I at once telephoned to General Soulé and begged him to send troops to protect those quarters. He refused, and said he would have to have an army corps to do such a thing. He spoke vaguely about gendarmes and police being there. I tried to explain that the only thing to do was to "s'en remettre au bon Dieu." He replied in the affirmative. It was obviously useless to continue the conversation.

33 On the morning of Tuesday, the 20th October, I instructed Mr. Russell to inform M. Aubouard that, as the French would do nothing for our people, I was going down myself to the Christian quarter, and that I hoped his sharpshooters would endeavour to miss me. After waiting for the bombardment to shift from my quarter, I crossed the town with native guides, who of course knew how to lead me out of reach of French fire. The journey was thus one of no difficulty or danger. Indeed, had I known earlier of the French withdrawal, I would have easily crossed the town on the previous afternoon. While the French troops were still in the city, and internal fighting was in progress, the passage from quarter to quarter was not so simple.

34 When I reached the Christian quarter, the Christians gathered round me much encouraged and full of enquiries. I reached the British Syrian Mission, where were all the ladies of that mission and Miss Ball and Miss Alexander of the Presbyterian school, whom a Canadian, Mr. Ebey, fortunately outside the French lines, had brought to safety. A shell had wrecked the sitting-room of the school, while Miss Ball and Miss Alexander were fortunately in the dining room. Until their rescue these two delicately nurtured English ladies had been crouching for several hours in a wood-cellar under the bombardment. During this time their French sisters had been collected into places of safety. After the withdrawal of the French troops, the Syrian police had conducted all these ladies of both missions to the Victoria Hospital. A frantic crowd of Armenians had doffed their uniforms and disappeared. A single English doctor and two English nurses had been powerless to deal with the mob. Finally, just before I came down, the Syrian and Presbyterian Mission ladies had left the hospital. The two British male subjects I had been so anxious about, Mr. Ebey and Mr. Joyce, the whole of the English colony was thus safe. They had all displayed admirable fortitude.

35 The bombardment ceased while I was in the Christian quarter. Then the French, shamed by my message, sent down to look after me Commandant Tommy Martin and M. Béjean, the adviser of police, who arrived in a car bristling with rifles and police. M. Aubouard also sent down a car for me with two gendarmes. I courteously but coldly refused all this tardy assistance, and returned to the consulate on foot with my native guides. There was no longer any danger, as the firing had ceased.

36 This French abandonment of our colony has excited much bitterness among the English here. In defence of the French, it must be mentioned that they also abandoned their civilian hospital in the Christian quarter, with several nuns and French patients. The French military authorities were so full of their own imaginary dangers that they would make no military effort to help the Europeans in the Christian and Jewish quarters.

37 The several thousand British Indians, Iraqis, Palestinians, Trans-jordanians, &c., were of course too scattered to be reached. So far no death among them has been reported to me, though one Palestinian has claimed compensation for wounds in both arms. Their material losses from the bombardment are of course considerable. I had let it be known as far as possible that they could come to the consulate for help, and that they were to be protected by French fire or, perhaps, staying in my bombarded quarter.

38 One very delicate feature of this disastrous affair was the attitude of the



people toward the consulate. The fact that the British flag was still flying in the heart of the bombarded city and over the stricken Moslem population created an inevitable feeling of fraternal solidarity. The peaceful Moslem population and the consulate, both equally abandoned by the French, turned to each other for help and counsel. To the terrified people to the strains of which women and children flying from shells and ruined houses, the consulate became the symbol of something reasonable and hopeful in all this frantic and senseless pandemonium. I am sure that if the British consul had been able to trust to the French consul, he could have intervened and settled the business far more quickly than the French artillery. Indeed, I am sure that the French consul would have been able to do so if the British consul had not been so far away. The British consul was not being renewed.

99. The danger of this situation is obvious and must be promptly conjured. It is no use trying to close our eyes to obvious facts. The unhappy people of this city have been cruelly wronged through the frantic action of a few soldiers who lost control of their rifles. These soldiers have shown themselves unworthy of the mandate confided to them by the League of Nations. The bitterness of the British colony is entirely justified. But the issues at stake are too serious for emotional treatment. Our own vital interests and the French solidarity in these parts. A French collapse in Syria opens up prospects for our mandated countries almost too unpleasant to be contemplated. I am therefore of the opinion that everything possible should be done to consign this painful story to oblivion. I will make every effort to sink back again into the effacement from which I was momentarily forced by circumstances beyond my control. I will also endeavour to restrain violent criticism of the French. I have already earnestly recommended to Mr. Merton, the "Times" correspondent who has just come here, the importance, in the interests of Anglo-French co-operation, of an extreme moderation in whatever he reports to his paper. I can only hope that the British and Egyptian press will refrain likewise from any excessive indictments.

40. This attitude, however, should not, in my opinion, preclude vigorous action to obtain compensation for the wide material damage suffered by British nationals from this unwarranted bombardment. But this is a subject which requires separate treatment.

I have, &c  
W. A. SMART

[E 0868 357 89]

No 204

*Acting Consul-General Meyers to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. — (Received November 10.)*

(No 13% Sec ret.)

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Mount. October 27, 1945

I VENTURE to make some comment on current affairs in Damascus as seen from the neutral angle of Beirut. There can be no doubt that the news of the dramatic changes in the capital of the State of Syria came to most people as a severe shock. It has been heard on all sides. I am told that criticism in Damascus is bitter, and that all religious sects take part in it. Few voices are heard defending the action of the mandatory Power. In Beirut public sentiment, if less heated, is the same. A wave of disillusionment has passed over us all.

2. Repentment, as far as I can see, is focussed on the person of the High Commissioner. I should not like to say that the passion is justified. It is hinted that the civil power in Damascus looks back regretfully on the ruin the military power has caused during the events of the last few days. Here there is a tendency to take a similar line. I was told the other day by the secretary-general that perhaps the military had gone a little too far. The day of reckoning is coming, and it may be that General Ganielin, commanding the troops in the Damascus area, will be the butt of it. However that may be, the public see at the head of affairs, leading his administration on from one catastrophe to another, a responsible figure about whom there begins to play a baleful light, that of General Sarrail. I have only the merest passing acquaintance with the general, and I have not read what the "Echo de Paris" says about him. But I know that since his arrival in Syria he has sent back to France

a continuous stream of dismissed men who must fatally seek their revenge in working for his downfall. The other day he relieved of his post an officer on his staff on the grounds that he knew too much. Two days ago he dismissed the whole of his intelligence bureau with the exception of its head, because, he said, they were working against him. He sees treason within the palace. Captain Carbillet, an ill omen choice surely, is on the new intelligence staff. It appears to be true—I have it on the word of the secretary-general—that an attempt was made in Damascus when the insurrection started to secure the person of the general. The insurgents are said to have burnt the beautiful Azm Palace because they had heard that General Sarrail was due to spend the night there.

3. If 2 million pounds' worth of damage has been done in Damascus, Beirut will probably have to bear in business losses at least a quarter of that sum, and this will have serious commercial consequences here. Some people, it is true, excuse the bombardment of Damascus on the grounds of military necessity. The common feeling is, however, that the French themselves created that military necessity by their action since the day when the High Commissioner turned away with contempt the Druse delegation which petitioned him in the matter of their Governor. Next year there may be a famine in the Jebel Druse and the Hauran. It is asked if Syria has really deserved her fate.

4. The Moslems protected the Christian quarter in Damascus when without warning the French had abandoned it. This gives the Christian communities seriously to think, although at bottom they do not trust the Moslems. In Damascus they are said to be very friendly to the French connection, but they have given up long ago all hope in the present representative of the republic. No one except a handful of sycophant journalists and political sapientists, and such French and foreign officials as by the nature of their posts are bound to speak fair of him, recount anything but humorous anecdotes of General Sarrail. It is not for me to discuss the choice which appointed him high Commissioner in Syria. I will, however, confess to a personal opinion that if the general remains at his post here he is bound to bring his own country and the mandatory system into disrepute, if the harin is not already done.

5. With regard to the failure to warn foreign residents in Damascus before the experience that the American consul in charge here, under whom the whole of American interests in Syria come, has been very busy despatching lengthy and earnest wires to Washington on the subject, and the indications are that the Department of State will take up a firm attitude in it. I think it likely, from what I hear, that the Italians will also demand indemnity in Paris for damage at Damascus to life and property.

6. The American consul in charge told me some time ago that he had asked for two destroyers to be at hand in case of need. A recent Havas telegram in the local press announced the departure of these ships for Alexandria. The telegram adds that they are sent at the request of the American consul in Beirut, and goes on to say in the accents of the Department of State that "les fonctionnaires du Département d'Etat espèrent qu'il sera inutile d'ordonner aux vaisseaux stationnant à Alexandrie de se rendre en Syrie." Thus, I take it, is for both American and French consumption. I hardly think that the French High Commission will like this communiqué, in view of its constant under-statement of the need for anxiety. For my own part, I see no reason as yet to mention the topic of British destroyers. The American request was for ships to be within call in the Mediterranean. I believe that if the need arose there would be no difficulty in securing British naval help from Malta.

7 Judging from the present situation here, there will be no need of such help. Many refugees came to Beirut last week, but some are already returning to Damascus. The Lebanon is calm. The only danger for the moment is of the bands of Druses and malcontents operating round Damascus, extending the sphere of their activities until they penetrate further westward and foment brigandage and lawlessness in such regions as that behind Sidon.

5. The papers led a road to arrival of M. Manuvel, a private secretary of M. Painlevé. He has possibly come on a tour of inspection.

I have &c  
NORMAN MAYERIS

Acting Consul-General Mayers to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 11)  
(No. 138.)

Sir,

Beirut, October

IN continuation of my despatch No. 136 of the 27th instant, I inform you that in a conversation yesterday the secretary-Commissioner imparted to me what I take to be an attempt to vindicate the military measures taken recently in Damascus.

2. He claimed that the city had ever been bombarded indiscriminately, or even the rebel portions of it. It had been perceived from the start, he said, that the armour-plate which protected the machine guns used in the street fighting had been penetrated by bullets coming from above, i.e., from windows and balconies. This had led to the subsequent bombing, which, he went on, was only directed on to the guilty points. The cannon, which had fired from a distance of 4,000 metres, had tried to hit the rebel portions of the city, but their shots had fallen a little wide of the mark. It was wrong to say they had bombarded an open town.

3. The gunners, too, he said, had seen the flags of the different nations flying over the consulates and had carefully avoided them. I rejoined that a piece of bomb had fallen into Mr. Smart's courtyard. He told me, too, that the danger to Europeans had been exaggerated. I replied that only the same morning I had had reported to me the case of a British woman, married to a naturalised British subject of Australia, who was at present undergoing an operation in the American hospital here to remove a bomb-splinter or piece of shrapnel which had pierced her forehead. M. Leprieux expressed his regret on hearing this.

4. The secretary general further declared that General Gamelin in Damascus had been faced with a very serious problem. He alleged that if the insurrection had not been suppressed, the lives of thousands of Christians and foreigners. General Sarrail says the same thing. From what I have been given to understand of the motives of the insurgents and the behaviour of the Moslems, it is not at all certain that this would ever have been the case. I did not discuss the point, however. In the second place, M. Leprieux said, the general colonial position of France demanded a quick, crushing lesson to the rebels. The latter's success would have had drastic consequences throughout the Moslem world. These explanations are those which the French papers are probably now printing. I got the impression, however, that the French High Commission here is uneasy about the way public opinion in Europe may discuss the news from Syria.

M. Leprieux confessed that the situation still gave much cause for anxiety. He said that reinforcements were coming both for here and Damascus. Military measures had already been taken in Beirut. It is rumoured that these measures consist of the placing of guns in two or three positions dominating the town. In this connection the American consul in charge has written to General Sarrail asking that, in the unlikely case of a bombardment here, the foreign communities should be duly warned through their consuls, and whether, in the event of General Sarrail giving an assurance to that effect, he as doyen of the consular corps may pass the assurance on to his colleagues.

6. The name of the gentleman mentioned in paragraph 8 of my despatch No. 136 is now said to be M. Charles Henry.

I have, &c.

NORMAN MAYERS.

E 6954 357 89]

No. 306.

The Marquess of Crewe to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 11.)

(No. 2370.)

Sir,

Paris, November 10, 1925.

M. Henry de Jouvenel has been appointed High Commissioner in Syria in place of General Sarrail.

2. M. de Jouvenel was born in Paris in 1876, and, after beginning his career as

he is still a member. He was elected a Senator in January 1921 and is a member of the "groupe de la Gauche démocratique." He was Minister for Public Instruction in M. Poincaré's short-lived second Administration from March to May 1924, and has on several occasions represented France at Geneva, having been French delegate on the Council of the League of Nations in 1922 and assistant delegate at the Assembly in 1924 and 1925.

3. M. de Jouvenel has given several interviews to the Paris newspapers during the last few days outlining the policy which he intends to pursue in Syria. He declares that France's main object in Syria must be to re-establish peace and to reorganise the Government and the administration of the country. With this end the ideas of autonomy and self-government are to be encouraged. The function of the army is solely to ensure public security, and it must not be thought that France's position in Syria is based solely on military occupation. France holds Syria under a mandate and not under a military occupation.

4. M. de Jouvenel made it quite clear that France could not on any account surrender the mandate. Such a surrender would be an acknowledgment of defeat and would mean the ruin of France's prestige in the Near East. M. de Jouvenel observed that he was going to Syria with no axe to grind, but only with the idea of serving the mutual interests of France and Syria. He declared that, though he was a free-thinker, he had every respect for religious beliefs. Replying to the question of Syria's neighbours, M. de Jouvenel declared categorically that it was essential for the French and British Governments to work hand in hand in the Near East, and that their interests were closely bound up. As regards Turkey, he had always been in favour of friendly relations, and he intended to carry out a policy of friendly respect between the two nations.

M. de Jouvenel added that before accepting the appointment he had consulted M. Herriot, M. Bism and M. Poincaré in order to assure himself of their support. All three had concurred in his nomination, although M. Poincaré made the reservation that he would have preferred to see General Weygand return to Syria.

I have, &c.

CREWE

[E 6967 357 89]

No. 307

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 12)

(No. 226.)

Sir,

Damascus, October 31, 1925

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a letter which I have addressed to the French delegate regarding a complaint made by General Sarrail, to the effect that I had spread panic at Damascus by announcing that the town was going to be bombarded a second time, and that British subjects should leave at once.

2. This complaint was first brought to my notice privately by Mr. Mayers British acting consul-general at Beirut, to whom I forwarded, for communication to General Sarrail, a private explanation, in the same sense as, but slightly less developed than, the enclosed official letter to M. Aubouard. The general replied that my private letter had arrived too late, and that he had already forwarded a complaint to Paris. I therefore had no recourse but to take the matter up officially.

3. I also enclose copies of two private letters from the British liaison officer, to whom the complaint was made with that intemperance so characteristic of General Sarrail. I think that no one could have been so irrational as to suggest the general and endeavouring to convince so irrational a person of his mistake. Moreover, the language used towards me was so discourteous that I do not feel inclined to go out of my way to see him.

4. I also enclose copies of the two notices which have occasioned this outburst. As will be seen from the enclosed letter to M. Aubouard, these notices were put up as the direct result of definite notifications made to me by the French delegation. Although I did not believe personally that the French would be so foolish as to renew the bombardment, I obviously could not disregard these very precise indications given me by the responsible authorities with a view to withdrawing British nationals from danger in case of a second bombardment.

5. I was at first under the impression, when talking with M. Aubouard on the morning of Thursday, the 22nd October, that he was making these very definite



proposals because he thought that, if I was convinced of the possibility of a bombardment, I ought to try to persuade Arabi Pasha to ~~do something to~~ <sup>do something to</sup> ~~prevent~~ <sup>prevent</sup> it, and thus avert another disaster. Later, however, from remarks made to Mr Russell by M. Aubouard, who said that he had, in speaking to the general over the telephone, energetically opposed a renewal of the bombardment, I was inclined to think that the delegation was, perhaps, not quite sure whether the bombardment might not be renewed. General Sarraïl is reported to have been very aggressive after the first bombardment. It is rumoured that he was personally much chagrined by the fact that the invaders should have made a deliberate effort to trap him.

d. Although it was not for our delegation to make the delegation to make concrete proposals to me for the removal of British subjects out of reach of another bombardment. I merely followed the delegation's indications and put up the notices so as to be able to get as many British subjects out of the town as possible, if the bombardment actually were to become a reality.

7. It is obvious that this complaint is of an entirely irrational nature and it should be regarded as merely an indication of a more general desire to find some pretext for securing my removal from Damascus.

- Among the French colonialists at Damascus has grown up one of those ~~romantic~~ legends, the very absurdity of which defies all argument. To these strong but primitive imaginations I have become a Machiavellian figure, possessed of a profound knowledge of French and Arab mentalities and affairs, gifted with diabolic patience and suavity, never making a mistake, and always putting the French in the wrong, working surely and successfully to overthrow France in Syria. About a week ago a French official told my United States colleague that he had a great admiration for Mr. Smart, who, without making a single diplomatic error during these troubles, had succeeded in his purpose of manoeuvring the French into the most disastrous position possible. Any comments on these childish fantasies would seem superfluous.

8. No particular complaints, beyond this obviously absurd one about the enclosed notices, have been formulated by any responsible person. Mr Mayers, in a private letter, tells me that it was rumoured in French circles at Beirut that I had declared that, if the French could not restore order in the town, I would call in the

10. At Damascus I have had vague intimations of two points on which the French appear to be pondering

11. Firstly, my attempts to save the British colony in the Christian quarter during the fighting involved relations with non-combatant Moslems. My action was ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> intended to ~~bring about~~ <sup>bring about</sup> the withdrawal of the French troops. The fact that the Moslems responded to my appeal is enough to make the French suspect that an influence exercised in this sense may also have been used in anti-French directions.

[illegible]

18. After the meeting, I, as shown, drafted the note on the lines agreed upon and it was then subjected to a further collective revision.

14. However I am prepared to accept full responsibility for a note to which I put my signature. The terms of that note have greatly irritated the French, but I remain of the opinion that it was impossible by any milder means to bring home to them the necessity of providing protection for foreigners. For three months I had been almost sacrificing the safety of my colony and incidentally that of other foreign colonies to my resolution to play up to the French policy of concealment.

(see my despatch No 211 of the 15th instant for the grave responsibilities which I had incurred in this respect both towards my own countrymen and my colleagues). This responsibility was all the graver because, not being so badly informed as the French, I was fully aware of the danger of an incursion from the east, as soon as the bands of Nassib Hey Bakri and Hassan-al-Kharrat appeared in the eastern gardens. Foreseeing this peril, but of course never foreseeing the French bombardment, I was careful, in the note to the French delegate, enclosed in my above-mentioned despatch, to give exact geographical details about my colony and

my despatch No 214 of the 17th instant, amounted to a refusal of military protection, but contained vague assurances of general measures of security. Even then, in spite of my anxiety, I sent him the friendly reply also contained in my No 214 of the 17th instant, in which I promised to take such measures of protection and for particular measures which might become necessary "à un moment donné et sur des points déterminés." When the trouble came on the very points indicated to him, not only were no measures of protection taken, but not one single French official even took the trouble to telephone to me and warn me of the danger coming upon our people. After failing myself to get into telephonic communication with the authorities responsible for our protection, I had, after the bombardment had begun, to make my way, with the help of a native policeman, through the town, already falling into rebel hands, to the Etat-major, where were all the supreme civil and military authorities solely concentrated on French concerns, totally oblivious of the necessity of doing anything to warn or help foreigners. But I need not continue the story, which is already familiar to you. This bitter experience had taught me that nothing but the strongest language could awake the French authorities to their responsibilities towards foreigners and thus perhaps make less insecure the future of my colony at Damascus. I therefore associated myself with my colleagues in the collective note, which apparently is now attracting French resentment against me alone.

15. Yet all these things are details in view of the general French delusion about me. If it is not one thing it will be another on which the French will fasten to incriminate me. I am inclined to believe that British consular appointments to Damascus should be yearly. After one year the French will have come to the conclusion that any British consul here is responsible for all the troubles their own meddling continually brings on them.

I have &c  
W A SMART

Enclosure 1 up No. 507

Consul Smart to French Delegate.

M. le Délégué.

Damea, le 30 octobre 1925

J'AI appris de l'officier de liaison britannique à Beyrouth que son Excellence le Général Satriat s'est plaint vivement de ce que j'ai été une paotique en annonçant publiquement qu'on ne pouvait rester à Damas sans danger, parce que l'on courtait le risque d'un second bombardement. Par conséquence, les trams auraient été boudes de fugitifs.

Je me permets de faire remarquer d'abord que n'importe quelle déclaration faite par moi aurait pu contribuer fort peu à augmenter une panique créée par le premier coup de feu. C'est la panique qui a été la cause de la débandade et de la cessation du feu, la gare a été assaillie par une foule cherchant à quitter Damm. M. Brossard, Directeur du Chemin de Fer, dont le concours a été si précieux à moi et à mes ressortissants, pourra vous fournir à ce sujet tous les renseignements nécessaires.

Ensuite, je me permets de vous faire remarquer que les deux avis que j'ai fait afficher le vendredi 23 courant dans la salle d'attente du consulat de Sa Majesté britannique ont été exposés pour donner suite aux arrangements conclus avec la délégation française elle-même. Je crois nécessaire de résumer les pourparlers qui ont abouti aux deux avis susmentionnés.

Dans la matinée du jeudi 22 courant, au cours de la promenade en automobile que j'ai eu le plaisir de faire avec vous, à l'occasion de vos gracieuses visites aux établissements anglais, vous m'avez dit que, si les conditions françaises n'étaient pas exécutées, un coup de canon serait tiré à blanc le samedi 24 courant à midi et que, à

cela ne produisant pas l'effet souhaité, le bombardement recommencerait à 1 heure de l'après-midi. Vous avez bien voulu m'offrir l'hospitalité de votre maison et vous avez pu faire venir le pital militaire français à Salhiyyeh comme asile pour les ressortissants britanniques. Tout en vous remerciant de votre aimable invitation, j'ai répondu que je ne pouvais pas abandonner le consulat. L'officier français qui nous accompagnait a demandé si dans des pareils cas il n'était pas possible de retirer le pavillon britannique. Il m'était, donc, nécessaire de rester dans la ville avec ceux qui n'auraient pu la quitter.

Dans l'après-midi du même jour j'ai envoyé Mr. Vaughan-Russell, vice-consul de Sa Majesté britannique, à votre bureau pour arranger avec vous comment et où se retireraient les ressortissants britanniques dans le cas du bombardement dont la menace m'avait été indiquée par vous dans la matinée. Comme vous êtes sorti, Mr. Russell a vu M. Deléclée-Desloges, le délégué adjoint, qui a proposé la Caserne Hamidiyyeh hors de la ville comme lieu d'asile pour les ressortissants britanniques, mais il a ajouté qu'il devait d'abord en parler à vous. Plus tard dans l'après-midi, M. Deléclée-Desloges, m'a téléphoné pour me dire que l'arrangement conclu avec vous était le suivant :

M. Deléclée-Desloges devait me téléphoner à 9 heures du matin le samedi 24 courant pour me faire savoir si le bombardement devait avoir lieu ou non. Si le bombardement devait avoir lieu, il m'indiquerait l'endroit hors de la zone de danger, probablement la Caserne Hamidiyyeh, où les ressortissants britanniques pourraient se rendre.

Personnellement je ne croyais pas qu'un second bombardement aurait lieu. Cependant je ne pouvais pas évenement me refuser à suivre les indications qui m'étaient été données par la délégation française, représentante responsable de l'autorité mandataire à Damas. Donc le vendredi 23 courant j'ai fait expédier les deux avis suivants :

Le premier avis, plus général, conseillait aux sujets britanniques de quitter Damas en vue de l'insécurité actuelle, et de faire inscrire leurs noms au consulat pour des places sur les trains de Beyrouth. Cette inscription est devenue nécessaire par le fait que, bien avant ces avis, les trains étaient bondés de gens cherchant à quitter Damas.

Le second avis, plus particulier, conseillait aux ressortissants britanniques, en vue de la possibilité du renouvellement du bombardement, de se présenter au consulat à 8 heures du matin le samedi 24 courant pour être dirigés hors de la zone de danger. Le samedi 24 octobre, vous avez dit à Mr. Merton, correspondant du "Times," que j'avais créé une panique en affichant un avis que le bombardement allait être renouvelé, et j'ai parlé, je vous ai envoyé Mr. Russell avec les originaux des deux avis précités. J'ai

pués, n'ayant pu quitter Damas, pourraient venir au consulat, sans garantie contre un bombardement, ou s'inscrire pour être mis à Salhiyyeh dedans les lignes françaises.

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Vous avez bien voulu convoquer M. Deléclée-Desloges, qui, devant Mr. Russell, vous a rappelé les arrangements qui, sous votre direction, avaient été conclus avec le consulat. Vous avez alors dit à Mr. Russell que des renseignements inexactes vous avaient été communiqués au sujet du texte de ces deux avis.

De cet exposé, dont je vous prie d'excuser les longueurs, il ressort que les deux avis

ou n'ont été que l'aboutissement des notifications faites au consulat par la

Aussitôt que vous m'avez noué que le second bombardement n'aurait pas lieu, j'ai fait retirer tous les deux avis, c'est-à-dire dans la soirée du vendredi 23 courant.

Selon une lettre que j'ai reçue de Mr. Mayers, gerant du consulat général de

la régularité de ces avis, seruit sous l'impression que j'ai fait répandre dehors par des

agents le contenu de ces avis. Les renseignements inexactes qui ont été donnés à la délégation, ils sont tout à fait inexacts. M. Deléclée-Desloges, qui a été chargé d'entretenir à ces deux avis, n'a rien dit de tel. J'ai l'honneur de vous en adresser ci-joint le texte.

Veuillez agréer, &c  
W. A. SMART

Enclosure 2 in No 307.

Major Salisbury-Jones to Consul Smart.

(Secret and Personal)

Dear Mr. Smart,

Beirut, October 30, 1925

IN continuation of my previous letter on the subject, the following are more complete details of what occurred. General Sarrail rushed into my office in a furious temper and proceeded to pour forth the words which I have endeavoured to repeat below. I may mention that these outbursts have become a common every day occurrence in the Grand Sérail. The general has taken to the somewhat undignified habit of spending his mornings wandering from office to office, and nearly every morning his voice can be heard resounding through the corridors from whichever unfortunate office happens to have received the brunt of the general's rage on that day.

"Your consul, Mr. Smart, in Damascus has been creating panic. He has been telling people that it is not safe to remain in Damascus. As a result of his action, the station there is filled with thousands of refugees trying to get away, and saying that the British consul has advised them to leave. If Mr. Smart were not the consul of a friendly Power, I should ask for his removal to Beirut."

It is impossible to get a word in edgewise on these occasions, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I was able to refrain from losing my temper, which I realised would serve no useful purpose. I told the general that this was no affair of mine and that he must say such things to Mr. Smart himself. I told him that I could not listen to such words against one of my countrymen, and I endeavoured to stop the conversation at this point. But the general raved on like a mad bull. I then insisted that you had only done your duty, and while in the middle of telling him this, he waved away, waving his arms in the air. It is quite impossible to do anything with him on these occasions. He is more like a wild animal than a human being.

I later went to see M. Lévisier, whom I knew that it would at least be possible to talk to, whatever his attitude might be. To my surprise, I found him almost as angry as the general. He told me that he had been told that the British consul had advised the people to leave. I said that I felt quite sure you had only done what was your clear duty and responsibility towards British subjects. I told him of the general's language to me. He then appeared to become rather alarmed, and expressed the earnest hope that things would be settled amicably.

Later I saw Commandant Dentz, who also appeared angry. He made a series of the most childish remarks imaginable. I repeat the most childish. "Mr. Smart knows Arabian affairs too well. He ought not to be consul at Damascus." Is it possible to cope with such people?

Yours sincerely,

A. G. SALISBURY-JONES, Major,  
Liaison Officer,  
Headquarters, French Army of the Levant



*Major Salisbury Jones to Consul Smart.*

Dear Mr Smart,

Then the fireworks started! He told me that he had always treated me frankly, telling me exactly what he thought. Now he had discovered that I could not be trusted. He bellowed at me that he would never tell me anything again, and prepared to depart. I thought that it would be better not to leave matters at that, and I succeeded in fetching him back. I then started off in my turn. I said that all of us—you, the British consulate-general here and myself—had worked day and night to secure Franco-British co-operation. But there was a point beyond which we could not go. I said that I must leave. I told some things to leave. Since then I am to-morrow

I do not want you to think that the above incidents have compromised me in my military duties here. I do not consider that General Sarrail is the chief man who counts here at the moment. If my relations with him remain less cordial than they have been hitherto, my relations with his staff remain the same, and this is almost more important.

In order not to embarrass you, I am naturally not communicating these things to anyone else except Mayers, but please make whatever use you like of this and my first letter of even date.

A G SALISBURY JONES M.D.

NOTICE

Damascus, October 22 192.

W A SMART, Counsel

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( 31 )

NOTICE

If they will inscribe their names at the consulate, efforts will be made to secure for them train accommodation to Beirut.

If they cannot get away immediately, they are free, in case of bombardments or other serious trouble, to come to the consulate, but they must bring their food with them. His Majesty's consul cannot guarantee that they will be sheltered from bombardments at the consulate. If they wish to go to Salluyyoh within the French lines, they should inscribe their names immediately at the consulate.

W A SMART *Consult*

Damascus, October 22, 1925

No. 3029

*Consul, Damascus, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 12.)*

(No. 31)

(Telegraphic) R.

*Damascus, November 12 1925*

MY despatch No. 226

As stated last week in press telegrams, General Sarrail is reported to have declared to the correspondent of the "Petit Parisien" at Alexandria that the British consul was responsible for a panic at Damascus because he placarded the town with excited notices. The statement is totally inexact. Normal notices were affixed of late in the waiting room of the consulate only, and based on definite notifications made to me by the French delegation with a view to the removal of British subjects out of the danger zones in case of renewal of the bombardment of 24th October in the eventuality of the town's non-compliance with the French ultimatum.

Notices were withdrawn as soon as the delegation notified me that the bombardment would not take place.

I hope it will be possible to publish a *dementi*.

No. 9110

*Mr. Austin Chamberlain to Consul Smart (Damascus).*

(No 22.)

$$\{1, \dots, n\} \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$$

Received, November 12, 1925

MY telegram No. 20 of 3rd November Emir Said.

enquiry has been opened in consequence of recent events, and that although Emir has been placed under police surveillance, his arrest has never been contemplated

They have instructed High Commissioner to enjoin on French authorities at Damascus close co-operation with you for the purpose of safeguarding British subjects.

No 310

Consul-General, Beirut, to Mr Austin Chamberlain,—(Received November 19)

(No. 64)

(Telegraphic.)

Beirut, November 13, 1925.

**FOLLOWING** for Air Ministry from liaison officer.—

" Lebanon causing anxiety. Efforts being made to rouse Lebanon Druses.  
Few troops available in the area  
" (Repeated to Palestine.)

No. 311

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain to Consul Smart (Damascus).*

(No. 23.)

(Telegraphic) R.

*Foreign Office, November 13, 1925.*

I HAVE followed with great interest your reports on the course of events at Damascus.

You have had to contend with great difficulties, and it has been a source of satisfaction to me to see with what sound judgment, tact and courage you have acted at each stage of the crisis. Your conduct has my warm approval.

No. 312

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain to Consul Smart (Damascus).*

(No. 24.)

(Telegraphic) R.

*Foreign Office, November 13, 1925.*

MY telegram No. 23 of 12th November: Abdul Kader family

End of first sentence should read —

"Although Emir Taher has been placed under police surveillance, arrest of Emir Said has never been contemplated."

No. 313

*Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 15)*

(No. 33.)

(Telegraphic) R.

*Damascus, November 15, 1925.*

MY telegram No. 31

Semi-official newspaper, the "Syrie" of Beirut, has twice repeated publicly personal attacks on the French Government.

As the natives know the paper is the organ of High Commission, and that, rightly, in my opinion, news disagreeable to the French is freely excluded from it, publication of such personal attacks are bound to encourage native hopes of Anglo-French disagreement. Such an illusion is particularly dangerous to France and more ultimately to us.

I have represented to the French authorities that, as it is diplomatically unusual to publish matters under reference to our respective Governments, I am deprived of the right to reply and hope that the High Commission will defend me by suitable démenti of a nature to dissipate the above-mentioned impression.

This development is due partly to campaign indicated in my despatch No. 226, seventh paragraph, and partly to the desire of General Sarrail to represent the bombardment of Damascus as a trivial and innocuous affair only magnified by my incorrect notices.

No. 314

*Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 16)*

(No. 34.)

(Telegraphic) R.

*Damascus, November 16, 1925.*

MY telegram No. 37, and my despatch No. 238 of 12th November on the way

Violent anti-French press campaigns in Egypt and Palestine are gravely dangerous to the French here that we cannot restrain the campaigns. Whatever may be possible or not in Egypt, I earnestly hope that High Commissioner in Palestine may armed if necessary with special temporary powers, be able to put an end to agitation in Palestine, which will cause Anglo-French estrangement here and eventually recoil on ourselves.

(Repeated to Jerusalem, No. 14, and Cairo.)

No. 315

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain to Consul Smart (Damascus).*

(No. 25.)

(Telegraphic)

*Foreign Office, November 16, 1925.*

YOUR telegram No. 31 of 12th November: Accusations by General Sarrail in press against Mr. Smart

This matter is being taken up seriously with the French Government, and I await their reply before deciding question raised in last paragraph

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No. 316

*Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 18)*

(No. 23b.)

Sir,

*Damascus, November 2, 1925.*

IN continuation of my despatch No. 220 of the 25th ultimo regarding the bombardment of Damascus, I have the honour to report that the anarchy in the surrounding country has become too widespread for detailed description.

2. In the Ghouta and the Merj, the garden districts which form the eastern part of the Damascus oasis, a French expeditionary force, consisting of foreign troops and Syrian auxiliaries, has been operating since the 25th ultimo, and plundered some villages, among which are reported to be Ghazlanieh, Hijnneh, Tell Meskin, Uteyba, Housh al Farah. I witnessed the return of this force through the Shaghour quarter, as I was, with a French representative, inspecting British damages from the bombardment. The soldiers were laden with loot. These repeated spectacles of French troops bringing loot through the town exercise a very demoralising influence on the population.

3. These expeditions into the Ghouta and the Merj appear to be worse than useless. The bands, of course, do not wait for the troops but decamp, leaving the villages, whether guilty of complicity or innocent, to be pillaged and ruined by the troops, which then return to the town. Each expedition merely adds to the number of homeless, ruined men, who inevitably swell the bands.

4. In the Wadi al Ajam, all the villages on the left bank of the Wadi are under the hand rule of a momentarily supreme Kalamun, Maarra, Seydneya, Rankous, Maloula Jeroud, Yabrud, Nebk, Dar'Atyyeh, to mention a few typical places, have either been attacked or occupied by the bands of Nasir Bey Bakri, Hassan al Kharrat, Ramadan Shalush and Juwan Sansak. At Nebk the rebels even set up a humorous Provisional Government. Movements are threatened towards Homs and Rayak, the French air force being unable to operate.

5. In the Wadi al Ajam an effort is apparently being made by chiefs from the Jebel Druse to organise the Druse villagers on the slopes of Mount Hermon with a view to more effective action against the French. A French force has been sent out and centred at Katana, the capital of the Wadi-al-Ajam, whence presumably operations are contemplated against the insurgents.

6. Druse bands from the mountain are said to be descending with a view to co-operation with the above-mentioned band leaders. Rumours are current of such Druse arrivals in the Ghouta and in the neighbourhood of Kiswah.

7. It is said that a serious movement is contemplated against the Beirut-Damascus Railway. Already such movements are reported against the Damascus-Derna line.

8. To-day there has been a panic in the town, which seems to have been made apprehensive by the above-mentioned activities of the bands and by signs of French military preparation in the northern suburbs to repel an incursion. The Meydan has been closed, and a message from the rebels that it would be severely treated if on the next incursion it fails to co-operate with the invaders as on the last occasion. Merchants have again begun to remove to their houses their goods which they had partially brought back to the bazaars.

9. The Christian quarter, lying open to the Merj and the Ghouta, is, as far as I have been able to ascertain from personal inspections, only protected by several military posts, at the British and French hospitals, at the eastern end of the quarter, and even these posts are subject to withdrawals.

10. Needless to say, the French authorities have given me no indication as to



whether they do or do not anticipate any further incursions. It is, anyhow, obviously useless to count on French protection for the moment.

11. I to-day sent a message to Sheikh Badr-ud-Din, the most influential of the ulama, to the effect that I counted on him to allay the panic in the Christian quarter, where my colony was. He replied that he would use his influence to protect that quarter. He enquired what he could say to the unfortunate peasants whose villages were being destroyed by the French troops because bands had forcibly quartered themselves on such villages. I returned no answer to the enquiry.

12. Amir Said Jezairli to-day renewed to me his assurances of assistance for the protection of the English in the Christian quarter, whom I have advised to collect at the British hospital in the event of another incursion.

13. In view of the impotence of the French I believe that it is now almost dangerous to ask for military protection. After the bombardment—that is to say, after the danger was momentarily over—fifteen Senegalese were quartered at the British hospital, but subsequently removed, to be replaced after nearly a week's interval by a North African guard. The Moslems of an adjoining village, on whom these Senegalese fired under a misapprehension, were extremely indignant, and told the matron that the hospital was under Moslem protection. Weak detachments in the Christian quarter may attract rebel attacks and involve British subjects in more danger than they would be in if left to themselves and native protection.

14. I may mention that on Tuesday, the 20th October, after I had been for a long time in the Christian quarter (see the 36th paragraph of my despatch No. 220 of the 25th ultimo), the French, getting ashamed, sent some tanks down Straight Street, which traverses the whole town, to protect the above-mentioned quarter. These tanks went down Straight Street, firing off their small guns right and left, until they found themselves at the Bab Sharki (eastern gate) and outside the town. The soldiers then enquired where was the Christian quarter, and to their regret learnt that they had already crossed the eastern end of it and killed two inoffensive Christians. One of their shells hit the street wall of the British Syrian Mission, which until then had managed to get through all the trouble untouched. It will, therefore, be realised that French measures of protection in the present state of military incoherence are two-edged weapons and must be invoked with prudence.

15. Of course, what the French really ought to do is to organise a military front well outside the town on the east and south-east. Instead of doing this, nearly all their forces are concentrated in the northern suburbs, with the unfortunate town as a buffer between them and the bands in the Ghouta and the Merj. To the lay mind these military dispositions appear almost comical.

16. The town has delivered the 3,000 rifles demanded. The fine of £T 100,000 has been imposed on the town, apparently the intention being to collect it by an addition to the taxes. The fine would thus fall on natives and foreigners alike.

17. The Extraordinary Tribunal, composed wholly of natives, which for the last three months has been trying cases of rebellion, has had to be entirely reformed owing, apparently, to the reluctance of its members to conform to the expeditious measures forced on them by the French authorities. The tribunal is now almost exclusively composed of natives other than Damascenes. The enquiry into the recent trouble is being conducted by the French, who merely use the court to give some legal form to sentences decided beforehand. A very large number of arrests have been effected, and, of course, there are the usual exaggerated stories of wholesale and informal executions.

18. Moslem feeling is very bitter about the bombardment, and is shared by the Christians. Things have now come to such a pass that the French can count on no native co-operation, while the general belief in French impotence has everywhere created a most dangerous audacity among the elements of disorder. Nothing but military operations on a large scale can now restore order in Central and Southern Syria.

19. I am personally of the opinion that we should for the present make no further representations to the French for the protection of our colony. Such representations only irritate them against us and are unlikely to have the desired result. The less, therefore, we worry the French at this moment the better will be the prospect of the matter. I still hope a more coherent direction succeeds in re-establishing security for all in Syria. Until then we had better count on native goodwill for the protection of our nationals.

I have, &c.  
W. A. SMART

E 7078 357 89]

No. 817

Consul Smart to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 237.)

Sir,

Damascus, November 7, 1925.

IN various European press reports it is stated that on Sunday, the 18th October, five shells only began on Monday, the 19th October.

2. A very palpable proof of the inaccuracy of this statement is a large fragment of a shell, now in my possession, which fell into the drawing-room of the Irish Presbyterian School at 6 P.M. on Sunday, the 18th October, i.e., less than half an hour after the beginning of the bombardment (see paragraph 3 of my despatch No. 216 of the 23rd ultimo). I subsequently took M. Aubouard, the French delegate, and M. de Lattinotres, the Adviser of Public Works, to see the ruin effected by this particular shell.

I do not know whether any blank shells were first fired, but it is quite certain that the real bombardment began between 5 and 6 P.M. on Sunday, the 18th October, and lasted until noon on Tuesday, the 20th October.

4. I do not desire in any way to revive memories of this sorry affair which, as urged in the penultimate paragraph of my despatch No. 220 of the 25th ultimo, should, in the interests of Anglo-French solidarity, be consigned to oblivion as soon as possible. I have thought it necessary, however, to place on record the true facts, which show conclusively that, not only was no warning whatever given to foreigners, but that a French shell very nearly killed two English ladies quietly sitting in their dining-room at the very beginning of the trouble.

I have, &c.  
W. A. SMART

E 7115 357 89]

No. 318.

Consul Hough to Mr Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 19.)

(No. 78. Confidential.)

Sir,

Aleppo, November 5, 1925.

I HAVE not found it necessary to report on the repercussions which the catastrophe at Damascus of the 18th-20th October has had in this town, for the reason that there have been practically none. In order, however, that you may have a complete picture of the state of Syria, and to supplement the reports which my colleagues at Beirut and Damascus have addressed to you, I have the honour to give a brief outline of such entirely minor events as have occurred.

2. The People's, or National, party contains here certain intelligent members of the Syrian community. It has been made on their houses for seditious documents. It is not recorded whether any were found. One of the party spent a few days in prison, but was subsequently released. Certain members of the Jabri family, including the well-known Ihsan Bey, former chamberlain to King Feisal and a member of the Syrian mission to London have found it more prudent to leave the country for a time.

Probably to conjure the danger apprehended from this party, all political parties have been officially dissolved. The Aleppo caucuses had, to my eyes, a very amateurish and innocuous appearance in any case.

4. Several reviews of troops have been held, to impress the population. While there was some suspicion that these reviews were slightly of the stage army variety, they may be said actually to have had some effect in quieting the nerves of the more nervous.

5. The security of the town is not so good as it was. It is not so good as it was at sunset, nor in the Hariri and Mih districts would I consider daylight security is due to sheer casual highway robbery on the part of people who feel vaguely that there has been some weakening of general authority.

6. The Alexandretta district, inhabited by Armenians, Turks, and Turkomans, is entirely unmoved by these events, and, as General Sarrail was fond of saying with less exactitude about Syria generally, complete calm reigns there.

I have, &c.  
W. HOUGH

*The Marquess of Crewe to Mr. Austen Chamberlain—(Received November 19.)*

(No. 2448.)

Sir,

Paris, November 18, 1925

I HAVE the honour to inform you that General Sarrail returned to Paris on Sunday, the 15th November. In spite of the fact that the general returned more in disgrace, he was met by several representatives of the Government, a fact which contrasts strangely with the reception accorded to Marshal Lyautey on his recent return to Paris after so long a career spent in the service of his country.

2. General Sarrail's first act, on reaching the station, was to create a scene with his successor, M. de Jouvenel, who was on the platform to meet him. On welcoming the general, M. de Jouvenel stated that he was most anxious to consult with him as possible regarding the situation in Syria.

3. General Sarrail's return to Paris, and his subsequent actions, have been widely publicised in the press, and attracted much attention, and although accounts of it were doubtless much exaggerated, yet it hardly tends to pre-empt opinion in favour of the returning High Commissioner. On the other hand, it is generally considered injudicious of M. de Jouvenel to court this rebuff by going to meet him.

4. General Sarrail appeared before the Foreign Affairs and Army Commission of the Chamber of Deputies sitting in joint session this afternoon, in accordance with the pledge recently given by the Government. The text of a communiqué giving an official account of the proceedings at the sitting is enclosed herewith.

5. From the accounts given in this evening's newspapers it would appear that the meeting passed off quite quietly with the exception of one incident, when an Opposition Deputy enquired whether the general was appearing before the Commission "on qualifié."

6. M. Briand that the Government was solely responsible for the situation in Syria, and that General Sarrail was present, with its authorisation only, in order to explain the state of affairs. After emphasising the difficulties with which he had had to deal on account of the various internecine quarrels of the different tribes in Syria, and in particular of different members of the Attoche family, General Sarrail pointed out that the situation was very serious.

7. He admitted that the Syrian troops were ineffective, and he complained of the lack of water and extreme heat. However, the late High Commissioner maintained that the French reserves had been largely due to the lack of water and extreme heat.

8. Speaking of the bombardment of Damascus, General Sarrail stated that on the 15th eight rounds had been fired into the city, and 150 on the second day in order to clear the city. About 185 corpses had been found among the ruins.

9. On being questioned by a member of the Commission regarding the action adopted by the British authorities, General Sarrail (according to press reports) paid a tribute to the assistance which he had received from the "high officials of the War Office and the Foreign Office," but he complained bitterly of the manner in which "certain British agents," acting independently, had influenced the course of events. In particular, he mentioned the action and tendentious despatches had provoked the present situation.

10. The general went on to refer to the pan-Islamic movement in Syria, which he hinted was not unconnected with recent events in the Gulf and with Moscow. The general also is understood to have said that at least 30,000 soldiers would be required to restore order in the Damascus region.

11. M. Hurry de Jouvenel, who was present, stated that the situation in Syria was very serious, and that the French Government was doing its utmost to bring about a settlement. He also mentioned the fact that the British Government was doing its utmost to bring about a settlement. He also mentioned the fact that the British Government was doing its utmost to bring about a settlement.

\* Not printed

9. But before this could be accomplished, it was essential that law and order should be established, and that the present unsettled situation should come to an end. He would regret deeply if it were necessary for him to have to recourse to warlike measures to ensure this, but he would feel it his duty to carry out such a policy should peaceful measures fail. He was confident, too, that the Government and the Ministry of War would put all the necessary troops at his disposal. The choice, however, rested with the Syrians themselves, and he trusted that they would not force him to adopt military methods. He hoped, indeed, that he would be able, with the aid of the Syrian population, to set up the necessary constitution, but once again he must emphasise the fact that such political progress was out of the question until order had been finally re-established.

10. In to-night's "Journal des Débats," the Minister for War, M. Daladier, is reported to have declared that he had no intention of bringing up the numbers of French troops in Syria to the figure of 30,000, but that reinforcements would, nevertheless, be sent to the Near East.

11. I hope shortly to be in a position to inform you of the exact figure of the reinforcements which have been or are about to be sent to Syria, but in the meantime it is clear from the reports in the newspapers that considerable reinforcements are being sent. French public opinion, realising the seriousness of the situation, is very anxious to see the French Government take the necessary steps to bring about a settlement.

Interest in the question as evinced in the newspapers will appear to have considerably decreased since General Sarrail's return. This may in part, perhaps, be due to the fact that the newspapers are now attracting public attention. It must, however, be in large part due to the dependence of the French newspapers for such information upon British and Egyptian newspapers.

I have, &c.  
CREWE.

No. 320

*The Marquess of Crewe to Mr. Austen Chamberlain—(Received November 19.)*

(No. 443.)

[By Bag.]

Paris, November 18, 1925

(Telegraphic.)

YOUR despatch No. 3779: Events in Damascus and passage of Turkish troops. I was informed by M. Briand that late yesterday evening when I gave him the full sense of the despatch, as he does not follow anything read in English, and left a copy with him.

M. Briand expressed cordial agreement with your recital of past and present relations between our two countries in the second paragraph of the despatch. He said that he would send a full reply in writing and he did not commit himself to any statement regarding the situation in Syria. I pointed out to him that the notices issued from the consulate warning British subjects of a possible bombardment of Damascus. He stated that the whole matter was before the commissions of the Senate and the Chamber respectively, when all the circumstances would be fairly elicited. He dismissed the newspaper reports with a shrug of the shoulders, saying that they were obviously the work of supporters of General Sarrail, who had attempted to act as *cavalier seul* in Syria, which was the reason for his recall. I pointed out that these were attacks made on a British public servant but M. Briand so obviously regarded the whole matter as *sub judice* that I thought it useless to ask him to issue a *démenti* from the Government, all the more as he said that the information which would be laid before the two commissions did not entirely support the consul's account of what had occurred.

I may venture to point out that it does not seem clear how the case so lucidly and impartially presented by Mr. Smart can be held to be the only one. General Sarrail is so generally disliked outside the small circle of his enthusiastic admirers that his version of the story is not likely to be accepted: but, on the other hand, his detractors may not find it easy, as patriotic Frenchmen, to adopt by preference the statements made by a British official. As at present advised, I do not see how this difficulty is to be met.

[14003]

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he would definitely take action on these lines if the Turks begin to press for the passage of further troops. Mr Chamberlain and Mr Amery accepted this solution as it fortified the British view that the League of Nations has a special responsibility to Iraq.

Before leaving frontier questions Mr Amery referred to the unsatisfactory position in the Yarmuk valley, where the railway crossed and recrossed the frontier a dozen times in twice as many miles. M. de Jouvenel promised to look into this.

As regards the situation in Syria itself, M. de Jouvenel expressed the view that

M Briand and M Berthelot. Mr Chamberlain observed that he believed that King Faisal was perfectly sincere in expressing his wish to be on good terms with the French Government and French authorities in Syria. It was obviously his interest and the interest of Iraq to cultivate such relations. "but" Mr Chamberlain added, without stressing the point, "the King's judgment is sometimes unduly biased by family feeling."

There was one matter to which Mr Chamberlain referred *en bon sens*, namely, the danger of increasing the number of brigands by destroying villages where brigands had harboured. M. de Jouvenel thanked him for mentioning it.

Just before leaving M. de Jouvenel referred to an official communiqué which he understood had gone out from the Colonial Office, so worded as to imply that the object of his visit to London was to be instructed in the right way of governing Arabs (it was afterwards ascertained, and M. de Jouvenel informed, that no communiqué of any sort had been issued). He suggested that to correct this impression a communiqué should be made with regard to the discussion which had taken place, laying special stress on that part of the discussion which dealt with frontier questions. Mr Chamberlain thereupon drafted the following communiqué, with which, as well as with the conversation generally, M. de Jouvenel expressed himself as highly satisfied.—

"M. de Jouvenel was received by Mr Chamberlain and Mr Amery at the Foreign Office this afternoon.

"The French and British Governments, desiring that their close co-operation should extend to all questions in which they have a common interest, thought it useful to exchange ideas on certain questions of common interest to Syria, Iraq and Palestine, and especially in regard to the position of that part of the frontier between the mandated territories of the two Powers which has not yet been delimited. This question will be at once studied by the two Governments with a view to its settlement."

L. S. A.  
A. C.

No. 325

Consul-General, Beirut, to Mr Austen Chamberlain—(Received November 20)

(No. 99)

(Telegraphic)

Beirut, November 20, 1925

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry

Total of 80 officers and 1,600 men have passed westward up to date

"Engagement yesterday between rebels and two French battalions 5 miles east of Damascus. Two French killed. Reconnaissance Rasheya area met everywhere by fire."

(Repeated to Bagdad and Palestine)

No. 326

The Marquess of Crewe to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 21.)

(No. 452)

[By Bag.]

(Telegraphic)

Paris, November 20, 1925.

MY telegram No. 443

M Briand to-day asked me to call your attention to some remarks he had made before the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Chamber, when General Sarrail's proceedings were under consideration, expressing his sense of the value of British co-operation in Syria and the loyal support which the French Administration had received. He had observed that General Sarrail had made several digs at the British consul, and could only suppose that the personal relations between him and Mr Smart had become thoroughly unfriendly. But he himself had said everything he could to emphasise his sense of the value of good relationship with Britain.

No. 327

Consul-General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain—(Received November 21)

(No. 70)

(Telegraphic)

Beirut, November 21, 1925

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry

"Rebels attacking Rasheya. One French officer taken prisoner. Communications cut. Engagement east of Damascus continues."

(Repeated to Palestine)

[E 7332, 357 89]

No. 328.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain to the Marquess of Crewe (Paris)

(No. 3-81)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 23, 1925

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and read to me the reply which M. Briand had sent to the communication which I desired your Lordship to make to him on the subject of Anglo-French relations in Syria.

M. de Fleuriau left with me a copy of M. Briand's despatch, and I enclose a transcript for your Lordship's information.

M. de Fleuriau called my attention to the fact that this letter was dated the 20th and had reached him on Saturday, the 21st, but he understood that it had in fact been approved before M. de Jouvenel's interview with Mr Amery and myself. It was therefore to some extent a *troisième lecture*.

I asked the Ambassador to thank M. Briand for his communication, and to say that I was glad to be surprised by the terms in which he wrote of Anglo-French co-operation. I also expressed the hope that the new High Commissioner our difficulties on either side would be at an end, and we might treat the matter as closed.

There was only one point in the letter to which I must recur. M. de Fleuriau had already spoken to me about the complaint of the French Government as to Sir Frederick Lugard's action. I must ask M. de Fleuriau to impress upon M. Briand the point that Sir Frederick Lugard was appointed to the Mandates Commission by the League of Nations and not by the French Government. I observed that I believed Sir Frederick had in the past examined the British mandates quite as critically as he cross-questioned the British representatives with at least equal severity to any which he had shown to the French. He did not consider himself, and he was not in any way under the control of, or responsible to, the British Government. He would represent his own views to himself. I suggested that I had a right to control his actions. I had indeed taken advantage of my personal friendship with Sir Frederick Lugard to ask him to lunch with me, and during the luncheon I had spoken of the sensitiveness of the French Government on this question.



and of their feeling that he had unduly pressed them at a moment of great difficulty, but this I had only been able to do as a personal friend and not in any sense as a Minister. I wished, therefore, to make it clear that His Majesty's Government could not accept responsibility for the action of any British subjects who were appointed by the League to its committees and over whom they had no right to

in such circumstances was not merely to ask of them an impossibility but also, as it seemed to me, to call upon them to do something injurious and derogatory to the League. The League had, for instance, appointed, I believed, a Spanish or Dutch national to some committee in connection with the Port of Danzig but how impossible would be the position of the League if any Power which thought itself aggrieved by the decision of those gentlemen had felt itself entitled thereupon to address remonstrances to the Spanish or Dutch Governments.

I dwell upon this matter because I am well aware that foreign Governments do, in fact, habitually exercise a great influence over their own nationals in similar circumstances, and it is important that they should understand the limitations which the traditions of English public life and service, as well as our respect for the League impose upon us in similar circumstances.

I am, &c.

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

Factotum in No. 828

M. Briand to M. de Fleurbaey

Paris, le 20 novembre 1925.

J'ai vu ce matin votre lettre de la lettre que Mr. Chamberlain a adressée à Mr. de Fleurbaey le 14 novembre courant, et dont celui-ci m'a laissé copie. Cette lettre exposait les plaintes que croyait pouvoir formuler le Gouvernement britannique en ce qui concerne la politique de coopération anglo-française décidée entre les deux Gouvernements.

Cette lettre appelle diverses observations que je formule en m'inspirant de la franchise avec laquelle Mr. Chamberlain s'est exprimé et que nous permet l'amitié cordiale qui unit deux Gouvernements.

D'abord, j'estime que le changement du Haut-Commissaire en Syrie, la nomination de M. de Jouvenel, sa visite à Londres et les instructions qui lui sont données, la réception et les échanges de vues cordiaux avec le Roi Fayçal, ont répondu par avance aux observations et aux desiderata anglais, ainsi qu'à la politique que nous pourrions en Orient comme sur les autres points du monde.

En pratique, lorsqu'il était à Alep, le Général Sarrail, avant le Général Sarrail, a eu l'occasion de se rendre compte de la situation et de la situation.

Les agents consulaires n'échappent pas aux passions locales et n'évaluent pas avec une juste mesure que leur Gouvernement. Cela ne justifie pas d'ailleurs les accusations portées dans quelques journaux français contre Mr. Stuart, qui a montré en dernier lieu un haut sentiment de son devoir et une plus juste compréhension de son rôle, sans s'attarder aux difficultés qui avaient marqué ses relations avec le Haut-Commissaire français.

Mais Mr. Chamberlain ne peut ignorer ni la liberté complète de la presse française ni les polémiques de politique intérieure qui rendent difficile d'agir sur elle. La situation présente en Angleterre les mêmes caractéristiques, les mêmes attaques injustes et précipitées contre la France et ses agents sans aucune critique sérieuse des événements. La campagne poursuivie contre le mandat français par de très importants journaux anglais, les renseignements inexacts et tendancieux, démesurément grossis, ont été le résultat de la situation. Le Général Dupert, dont la droiture et la raison ne sont contestées

par personne, a signalé à plusieurs reprises les effets nocifs des fausses nouvelles ainsi répandues contre notre action et la situation en Syrie.

En ce qui le concerne, le Gouvernement n'a jamais manqué, comme je viens de le faire devant la Commission du Sénat et de la Chambre, de formuler des déclarations très nettes relativement à la loyauté de la collaboration britannique en Syrie, déclarations qui ont été reproduites par la presse tout entière.

A cet égard, il m'est impossible de ne pas attirer de nouveau l'attention du Gouvernement britannique sur l'attitude véritablement peu amicale et passionnée de Sir Frederick Lugard, membre britannique de la Commission des Mandats à Genève, dont l'indépendance théorique vis-à-vis du Gouvernement britannique ne suffit pas à expliquer l'action. C'est un point du monde et une matière où la solidarité anglo-française doit cependant le plus étroitement s'exercer. Tout récemment encore, sans tenir compte ni de la résolution prise par la commission d'attendre jusqu'à février le rapport français sur le mandat syrien, ni de nos difficultés momentanées ni du remplacement du Haut-Commissaire français par un Sénateur tout inspiré de l'esprit de la Société des Nations, Sir Frederick Lugard a tenté de remettre immédiatement sur le tapis toute la question de Syrie.

Sans insister davantage sur ce point, je voudrais en venir à la question du passage des troupes turques sur laquelle je vous ai à plusieurs reprises prié de fournir les explications les plus complètes au Foreign Office. Le Gouvernement britannique sait que, malgré les termes les plus formels de notre accord d'Angora, nous avons contrôlé autant qu'il était en notre pouvoir le passage des troupes, et ne l'avons autorisé qu'après avoir reçu des Turcs des assurances formelles, à la fois à Angora et à Paris, concernant le caractère de relai des unités de troupes. S'il n'a pas passé en sens contraire, comme nous l'avions demandé tout d'abord, un nombre égal d'hommes libres, il en est passé un contingent appréciable, et, d'autre part, nous avons reçu du Gouvernement turc les déclarations les plus catégoriques, aux termes desquelles les hommes libres étant originaires des régions voisines et situés au nord de leurs garnisons, ne pouvaient être libérés que sur place. Le Gouvernement turc nous a exposé également que c'est en raison de la situation du Kurdistan, naguère encore livrée à une insurrection très grave, qu'il jugeait nécessaire d'envoyer des troupes de cette région, sous les ordres de

Je n'ai pas besoin de rappeler que les troupes turques ne sont pas des troupes de guerre, mais des troupes de police.

Au surplus, le Gouvernement britannique a d'autant moins de raisons de douter de notre bonne volonté que nous venons d'accepter très volontiers le principe de l'organisation d'un service de liaison entre les services militaires de renseignements anglais de Syrie et d'Irak pour qu'ils échangent directement les renseignements qu'ils possèdent. Cette liaison répond à nos intérêts communs et à notre coopération étroite, sans d'ailleurs, ainsi que le rappelait M. Herriot dans les instructions envoyées à nos agents diplomatiques et communiquées au Foreign Office, que la politique large d'accord envisagée entre les deux Gouvernements puisse faire entièrement abstraction de leurs intérêts particuliers ou des engagements qui les lient à d'autres nations.

Quoi qu'il en soit, j'ai la plus ferme conviction que, grâce à une collaboration efficace et loyale, recommandée de nouveau à tous nos agents, non seulement les incidents locaux relèves du parti et d'autre ne se reproduiront plus, mais que la nature des rapports franco-britanniques en Orient ne fera désormais que renforcer les relations générales des deux pays, dont l'amitié vient de s'affirmer avec tant de force pour le plus grand bénéfice de la paix européenne.

Je vous serai très obligé de bien vouloir donner lecture de la présente dépêche au principal Secrétaire de Sa Majesté britannique pour les Affaires étrangères et de lui en laisser une copie. En même temps, je vous prie de remercier chaleureusement Mr. Chamberlain des paroles si amicales et si utiles qu'il a bien voulu prononcer à

de Lorient.

A. BRIAND.

[E 7289, 357/89]

No. 329.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 26.)

(No. 235. Secret.)

Sir,

Damascus, November 9, 1925

WITH reference to correspondence ending with your telegram No. 30 of the 3rd instant regarding the family of Emir Said Jezairli, I have the honour to report that, in view of French suspiciousness at this moment (see more particularly the eleventh paragraph of my despatch No. 226 of the 31st ultimo), I waited a week before making to the French delegate the communication authorised by your telegram No. 12 of the 30th ultimo. I had hoped that the matter might settle itself without my intervention. During that week I received occasional visits from Emir Said and his relatives, who were of course anxious for me to take action to secure the release of the imprisoned members of the family, namely, the Emirs Tahir and Izz-ud-Din.

2. At last, on the 6th instant, I called on the French delegate and told him that, while not wishing to interfere in French affairs, I felt compelled to inform him that the arrest of persons who had protected the English colony during the recent troubles would cause regret among the British public. I let him know I was making this communication with your knowledge.

3. M. Aubouard telephoned to M. Bejean, Adviser of Police, and instructed him to come to the delegation in the afternoon to talk the matter over. He gave me to understand that the prisoners would be "mis en liberté provisoire."

4. On the following day the two Emirs were released.

5. Emir Said has asked me to convey to His Majesty's Government his profound gratitude for their effective intervention.

6. I impressed on Emir Said the necessity, in his own interest, of refraining from talking about our intervention. I pointed out that he must live on good terms with the French, in whose zone his interests mainly lay. We were, I said, the allies of the French, and we were deeply interested in a restoration of order in Syria by the French. I hoped, therefore, that he and his relatives would co-operate with the mandatory authorities for that purpose.

7. While not wishing in any way to appear ungrateful for the real assistance rendered by this family to the British colony during the recent troubles, I feel obliged to record that Emir Said was not altogether moved by disinterested motives of gratitude.

8. The ambitious, restless character of this prince is no doubt well known to you. During the British occupation of Syria he was expelled by Lord Allenby for activities against Emir Faisal. He was then acting in French interest. The French system of mandatory government gives little power to local magnates, and Emir Said was soon disillusioned as to his chances of playing a considerable part in the government of French Syria. He was further irritated by French action in reducing the amount of the pension paid to the Abd-ul Kader family in virtue of the treaty with Napoleon III.

9. Last spring the prince invited my wife and myself to a picnic in his country-house on the eastern slopes of the Lebanon. In the intervals of mild social distractions in the form of Oriental music and song, he propounded to me his views about Palestine and Transjordan. He was convinced that Emir Abdullah's incompetence would soon make his further rule in Transjordan impossible. The opportunity would seem favourable for uniting Palestine and Transjordan under a native prince, able to command popular Arab support and at the same time well disposed towards Zionism. His Highness modestly suggested that these qualifications were united in his person. Presumably his favourable disposition towards Zionism were to be deduced from his alacrity to sell his Palestinian properties to the Jews.

10. I replied that, as far as I knew, there was no prospect of Emir Abdullah's disappearance, and I dismissed the subject as a joke.

11. Latterly, Emir Said, like many Syrians, seems to have inclined to the belief that France's day in Syria is coming to an end. Like many others, he no doubt thinks that we will step into France's shoes. His eagerness, therefore, to please us is not uninfluenced by hopes of favours from the future rulers of Syria.

12. I will, of course, be careful to have as little to do as possible with Emir Said, except in the case of an urgent necessity such as that presented by the recent danger to the British colony.

13. I do not wish the above remarks to imply any ingratitude on my part for the Emir's assistance to me in my hour of need.

I have, &amp;c.

W. A. SMART

E 7250, 357/89]

No. 330.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 24.)

(No. 237.)

Sir,

Damascus, November 10, 1925

IN continuation of my despatch No. 228 of the 2nd instant, I have the honour to report that the band whose advance towards Damascus caused the panic reported in my telegram No. 29 of the 4th instant was under the command of Zayd, brother of the Druse chieftain, Sultan Pasha Attrash. It was not only, as first believed, French aerial action which prevented its coming to the town. With the approval of the French delegate, some leading men of the Meydan quarter went out to the band and begged it not to enter the town and expose it to the danger of a bombardment. The Meydan quarter had, on the occasion of the incursion of the 15th ultimo, refused to assist the invaders, but had, nevertheless, suffered a bombardment.

2. The band then cut the railway just south of Damascus (see the first paragraph of my above-mentioned telegram) and proceeded to Wadi al Ajam. The railway was repaired within twenty-four hours.

3. It is well known that the rebels are natives of Damascus, and nearly all of them have little desire to be the cause of the destruction of a great city which they regard as their home. The fact that they failed to enter the town which they failed or were unable to defend, they have diminished the chances of future attacks. This would amount to an admission that they cannot prevent attacks on a town entrusted to their mandatory protection, except by subjecting it and its non-combatant population to devastations which the rebels themselves are anxious to prevent.

4. The present anomalous situation has, of course, gravely diminished rebel respect for French military power. The insignificant bands which successfully entered the town on the 15th ultimo were able to stay there a couple of days and then withdraw without being directly attacked and without suffering any appreciable losses. Their withdrawal was due to the failure of the population to respond to their appeals to join them. The rebels are now in a position to inflict by the bombardment on a town towards which they cherished no unfriendly sentiments. Needless to say, nearly all the casualties were among the non-combatant population. The fact that the French can only shelter themselves behind a town which the rebels cannot enter without exposing it, not themselves, to bombardment. Such a dangerous illusion naturally increases the daring of the bands in the countryside.

5. Incidentally, I would observe that there is no justification for the French argument that, but for the bombardment, the whole town would have risen in co-operation with the invaders. There could be no general rising without influential support in the city, and no such support could have been forthcoming in view of the insignificant numbers of the invaders, between 200 and 250 in all. Obviously, the town could not have been held by such an inadequate outside force. Had a couple of thousand Druses followed in the wake of these small bands already inside the city, it is probable that a general rising would have taken place. As it was, only a few bad characters in the various quarters joined in the movement. The only excuse, therefore, for the French action can be either panic or complete ignorance of the realities of the situation, or both factors combined.

6. The French appear to have realised the necessity of providing external protection for the town. M. Aubouard told me that General Gamehn planned to

[14003]

2 A 2



create a cordon of posts outside the town. The posts at Bab Sharki (Eastern Gate) and the Jewish quarter seem to have been strengthened. The post at Bab Sharki on the night of the 7th-8th instant indulged in furious rifle fire, supported by artillery. The French state that a band, which had on the morning of the 7th instant sacked Douma (5 miles east of the town) for the second time, approached Bab Sharki during the night in question. The natives are inclined to think that it was a case of false alarm.

7. A detachment of the Foreign Legion has erected barricades at Kadem, at the southern edge of the city, incidentally leaving the depot of the Asiatic Petroleum Company 50 yards in front of it. A personal inspection of the ground convinced me that tactical considerations justified the Legion's refusal to advance its line beyond the depot. At least one nocturnal exchange of fire occurred between the Legion and a band. The position of the depot between two fires is hardly satisfactory and I have advised the native agent to empty it as soon as possible. The manager for Syria, resident at Beirut, Mr. Borland, after his narrow escape recounted in my despatch No. 210 of the 15th ultimo, apparently is not very anxious

not to prejudice any claim in case of future losses, I have addressed a note to the French delegate requesting that the French lines may be advanced beyond the depot.

8. In the Christian quarter I have been able to discover only intermittent activity at the British and French civilian hospitals. As the soldiers used the British hospital as a look-out post, for which purpose it is conveniently placed at the extreme edge of the town, their presence there might easily become provocative. For the moment, they have again been withdrawn. As indicated in the last paragraph of my despatch No. 224 of the 2nd instant, I believe that for the moment the British colony's safety is best assured by native goodwill. The rebels have made two

channels, half a mile from the Victoria Hospital, on the main road out of Damascus to Hama.

9. With reference to the second and third paragraphs of my despatch No. 224 of the 2nd instant bands under the Bakria, Mohammed Kuywan, a Druse from the Lebanon, and other Druse personalities, come and go in the Ghouta and the Merj

plundered by the Foreign Legion, are now being despoiled by the bands.

again plunder the villages and then return to Damascus. This process, in the absence of any change of French military strategy, may go on indefinitely.

10. With reference to the fourth paragraph of my above-mentioned despatch the French sent out from Hama towards Nebk a force whose advance caused the rebels to evacuate the latter place. The French force then returned to Hama, and the rebels shortly afterwards, to Nebk in greater numbers. A French Spahi force went out from Hama and attacked Nebk, but was repulsed with appreciable casualties. The French themselves admit ten killed. Ramadan Shalash is apparently in command at Nebk. Under his orders Hassan-al-Kharrat, now styled Minister of Finance of the humorous Provisional Government, is apparently operating southwards of Nebk along the eastern anti-Lebanon.

11. With regard to the Danish missionaries in the Nebk region (see correspondence ending with my despatch No. 230 of the 5th instant) the latest news is that they are getting into trouble for having given asylum and medical care to French wounded. It is reported that the house of one of them, Pastor Prip, at Deir Atiyeh, north-east of Nebk, has been plundered by the rebels.

12. The Beirut railway in the Barada valley appears to be under very real menace of band action, at Dair Kanoun, Zebdani, and Serghaya. The band there is that of Akkashah, which was operating on the Beirut road, abandoned by him on the 10th instant. The band could easily cross over and co-operate with Akkashah in raids on the railway in the Barada valley. At Bludan, just above Zebdani, are the summer houses and gardens, a church and a school, of the Victoria Hospital and the Irish Presbyterian Mission at Damascus. I have drawn the attention of the French authorities to the situation of these British properties in close proximity to band operations, but of course it is useless to expect any French military assistance. The safety of these properties can only be guaranteed by the goodwill of the natives, peaceful or rebel.

13. With reference to the fifth paragraph of my above-mentioned despatch, the statement that Wadi-al-Ajam is a centre of Druse activity appears to have organised the disorderly Druse elements there with some success. The Circassian irregulars were badly cut up at Kalaat Jandal. They are universally accused, by Druse and Arab alike, of great brutality and predatoriness. They can, therefore, expect no mercy from the rebels. The French column centred at Katana, the capital of Wadi-al-Ajam, appears to be in a position to deal with the bands which are as long expected, now working round Mount Hermon to Husbeya, but this ultimate and significant development falls within the province of my colleague at Beirut. Nassib Bey Bakri is said to be with the Wadi-al-Ajam bands, either in that district or at Hama.

14. Equally serious is the situation at Kunaitra, encompassed by Druse bands, which are spreading into the Jolan. Their progress in the Jolan will depend largely on Mahmoud al-Fa'our, head of the Fadi tribe, whose influence in that district is predominating. He has little reason to love the French, from whom he had to fly to Transjordan two years ago. Since his reconciliation with the French and his return to the Jolan, his defection would, of course, be serious at this moment. The French have twice sent reinforcements to Kunaitra. Druse chiefs and Yabia Bey Hayati, the Damascus ex-Turkish officer who has been playing a considerable part in the direction of Druse military operations, are said to be with the bands round Kunaitra.

15. The Jebel Druse column has been withdrawn from Musafirreh, partly to Damascus and partly to Bosra Eski Sham, which will presumably now be the base of the column.

constructed from Deraa to Bosra Eski Sham. Musafirreh would, anyhow, have had to be abandoned after the rains, for road connection from there to the railway would have become impracticable.

16. Colonel Andreu, commander of the column and Governor of the Jebel Druse from without, sits at Deraa and sends comforting reports of Druse submissions. reports always followed by others, less comforting, of extensions of Druse activities. Obviously, the Druses, feeling for the moment secure in their hitherto inviolate mountains, are trying to carry the war away from their country to other parts of Syria and even into the Lebanon.

17. It is to be hoped that the approach of winter will diminish the mobility of the bands and generally discourage their roaming proclivities.

18. I understand that between 6,000 and 7,000 French reinforcements are expected. These will be inadequate if the rebellion is to be settled by purely military action.

19. The French have been making attempts to recruit Kurdish irregulars from the Kurdish suburb of Damascus. Negotiations were conducted by a delegation through Hussein Hash, the well-known Kurdish sportsman, with Omar Agha Shabdin, a Kurdish notable. The Kurds said that they were too poor to provide horses. The delegation replied that infantry volunteers would suffice. The Kurds then said that they were not accustomed to fighting on foot. The French are hopeful that they have, by reviving ancient Kurdish grudges against the Druses, won over the Kurds to an effective co-operation. I fear that, like the Ruala at the beginning of the Druse revolt, the Kurds will try to get as much money as possible out of the French and do as little fighting as possible. Anyhow, this system of using native irregulars is open to grave objections. Naturally, they are quite undisciplined, and their depredations excite universal hostility against them. The obvious set made by the bands against the Armenians in the recent trouble at Damascus is attributed to the fact that a number of Armenians were included in the Circassian irregular formations. Circassians, Kurds, Armenians are, after all, small minorities in the predominating Arab and Druse populations. The future of these minorities will not be pleasant among an overwhelming majority of embittered Arabs and Druses.

20. In conclusion, I would draw attention again to the growing gravity of the economic situation. In great parts of Southern Syria it has been impossible owing to the disorders, to begin the autumnal sowings, which, with variations of date according to climatic differences, must be effected in November and December. If sufficient order is not quickly restored so as to permit considerable sowings, Southern Syria will next year be faced with an economic situation of extreme gravity.

I have &c

W A SMART

[E 7254, 357/89]

No. 331.

Acting Consul-General Mayers to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 24.)  
(No. 149.)

Sir,

Beirut, November 13, 1925.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that General Sarrail left Beirut quietly for France without any official notice on the 11th November last. The High Commissioner had expressed a desire that the officers of the garrison should not consider themselves formally bound to take leave of him personally, and no invitation was extended to the Commissioner to be present at his departure. Nevertheless, in order to avoid any appearance of lack of courtesy, I went on board, accompanied by the liaison officer, and bade the general farewell.

I understand that a movement was started in the Representative Council here for the vote of a message of solidarity with General Sarrail and regret at his departure. With two or three exceptions the members refused to associate themselves with any such motion. Two days later the Governor of the Great Lebanon asked the Conseil des Directeurs, his inner council, to express a similar motion of appreciation and regret. In this case the vote was obtained with two dissentients, who later were congratulated by the leagues on having had the courage of their convictions.

I have, &amp;c.

NORMAN MAYERS.

[E 7269 357 89]

No. 332.

The Marquess of Crewe to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 25.)

(No. 2487.)

Sir,

Paris, November 24, 1925.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that it is understood that M. de Jouvenel will submit to the National Assembly a report on the situation in Syria. M. de Jouvenel's recent visit to London has not attracted that amount of attention from the newspapers which it might have done had public opinion not been so distracted by the present financial and political crisis. The majority of the newspapers have been content merely to chronicle the news of M. de Jouvenel's journey without attempting to draw any wide inferences from this manifestation of Franco-British co-operation in the Near East. The general attitude towards the matter has been one of mild satisfaction, and the only comment of any particular interest which would be worth mentioning is that which professes that, as a result of M. de Jouvenel's mission to London, the imperialist and capitalist forces of Great Britain and France will now unite in crushing under foot the aspirations of the native population in the Near East.

On being questioned by various journalists on his return to Paris, M. de Jouvenel expressed himself as highly satisfied with the results of his visit to London. He had been able to come to an agreement with the competent British authorities regarding all the questions concerning Franco-British collaboration in the mandated areas, and he had returned assured that he would receive every assistance in his task from the British. M. de Jouvenel declared that he was convinced that the various problems with which France and Great Britain were faced in the Near East could only be solved if they showed the spirit of mutual collaboration such as had been manifested at Locarno.

He assured his hearers that Great Britain had no desire to take over the Syrian mandate and that every care must be taken not to give any credit to the rumours which were put about by native propagandists in order to sow trouble between the two nations.

When questioned by the press M. de Jouvenel stated that he had had the opportunity of studying extracts from certain of Mr. Smart's telegrams and despatches, that the terms of these had exhibited the utmost sympathy towards France, and that it was impossible for him to doubt that Mr. Smart was a sincere believer in the principle of Franco-British collaboration and that he was working towards that end.

M. de Jouvenel added that he considered that one of the most urgent of his tasks would be to reach a definite settlement regarding the frontiers between Syria and

the territories under British mandate on the one hand and Turkey on the other. With a view to settling the latter question, he hoped shortly to proceed to Angora to discuss the matter with the Turkish Government.

True to its somewhat ostentatious policy of endeavouring to keep public opinion as uninformed as possible regarding the real facts of the Syrian situation, and with a view, no doubt, to checking the anxiety which had been caused by the news, received through foreign agencies, of the Druse incursion into Southern Lebanon, the Government published the following communiqué on the 21st November:—

"The reports which depict the situation in Syria as being alarming are entirely without foundation. It is absolutely untrue that General Duport has asked for reinforcements to the number of 50,000 men.

The French High Command and to the attitude of the native population, which offered to join our forces and out of which several bodies of volunteers have already been formed, the lands who had established themselves in the neighbourhood of Mount Hermon have had to give up any offensive action against Damascus and are being threatened by our columns.

"Information from various sources leads one to expect that these bands will shortly retreat."

7. Disregarding this optimistic communiqué, the "Journal des Débats" of the 23rd November prints a long and interesting leading article on the Syrian situation. This article, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy herein,\* is one of the few which has dealt with the state of affairs in Syria from an objective point of view and which has not endeavoured to treat the Druse revolt or the bombardment of Damascus as a mere pretext to beat General Sarrail. The article shows clearly that the unrest in Syria, beginning with the revolt in the Jebel Druse, has spread gradually and now the French are faced with a really formidable Nationalist movement.

8. The much advertised meeting of protest organised by the "Echo de Paris" and the "Liberté" was held on the 20th November, and was, according to the Opposition press, a great success being attended by several thousand people. At the meeting the following resolution was passed:—

"Les Anciens Combattants et les patriotes prenant acte de la démission du Général Sarrail ont provoqué une manifestation de protestation, et constatant que le Gouvernement n'a voulu jusqu'ici ni faire la lumière, ni prendre des sanctions."

9. This meeting, which was addressed, among others, by M. Henri Kerneux and M. Taittinger, has attracted very little attention from the press other than that of the Opposition, and, in view of the fact that the proceedings were ended by a procession which made its way past General Sarrail's house shouting, "Assassin! To the gallows with him!" must be regarded more in the light of a personal attack upon the late High Commissioner than as a serious attempt to inculcate the Government for their policy in regard to Syria.

I have, &amp;c.

CREWE

[E 7297 357 89]

No. 333.

Colonel Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 26.)

(No. 240.)

Sir,

Damascus, November 13, 1925.

WITH reference to correspondence ending with my despatch No. 237 of the 10th instant, I venture to offer a few general observations on the situation with which the French are now faced as a result of the state of anarchy in Southern and Central Syria.

2. If the present problem is to be solved by military action only, it is obvious that much larger reinforcements than those hitherto announced will have to be sent to Syria. The rebellion has now become widespread, and the growing misery in

\* Not printed.



adding everywhere to the rebel numbers. The French can count on no effective Arab or Druse support. Everybody's hand is against them, and they can expect little useful assistance from the local gendarmerie and police, which are in their hearts with the rebels. Even the peaceful mercantile populations of the towns long for an ending of French rule, which they associate with hopeless economic stagnation. Indeed, the profounder causes of France's weakness in Syria are to be sought in the general despair of any material prosperity under a French régime. Thus, in the day of trouble, no considerable elements are to be found to come to the rescue of an authority from which no material benefits are hoped for.

3. If, then, the solution is to be military, Syria must be regarded as an enemy country to be reduced by general operations of war on a much larger scale than any hitherto conducted.

4. If France is unwilling or unable to make such a military effort, she must, it would seem, have recourse to political devices.

5. I believe that any attempt to placate the Nationalists by large concessions would be useless. The Nationalists do not want the French at all, and any concessions made to them would only lead to demands for more and of a nature incompatible with any mandatory control.

6. It seems obvious that, if extensive military operations are to be avoided, the only way out of the present difficulties is to come to terms with the Druses.

7. The Druses are quite indifferent to Syrian Nationalism. They merely wish to be left alone. They are not at all interested in the Nationalist cause. Inexorable the blunders which drove them to rebellion. Of course, now, in their struggle for life, they are welcoming Nationalist and any other help they can get. If they could receive adequate guarantees of a general amnesty and of reasonable local autonomy, they could be detached from the Nationalist rebels and induced to make peace. They have suffered greatly by the war and would welcome a return to normal conditions.

8. It is clear that any policy which involves the Druses would involve a sacrifice of French military prestige, but, unless France can quickly undertake more extensive military operations, such a sacrifice would be the lesser of two evils. Failing peace with the Druses or large reinforcements, there seems no early prospect of a termination of the present disorders. Their prolongation, as indicated in the last paragraph, will drive to desperation and rebellion all sorts of elements hitherto without bellicose inclinations.

9. Once Druse neutrality is assured, the problem of the bands can be solved with the forces now, or shortly to be, at France's disposal in Syria. It is the mountain which serves as the base and refuge of the bands, and it is the mountain which provides the only formidable warlike elements. In order, however, to deal successfully with the band situation, even after a Druse defection, a modification of repressive methods would seem imperative. I have on various occasions drawn attention to the disadvantages of burning and plundering villages, suspected of complicity with the bands or charged with harbouring them. Each ruined village, whether innocent or guilty, merely provides from its desperate population new recruits for the rebels. If a village is suspected I believe that it would be better policy to hang a few of its chief men, without inflicting material damage on property. Such action would serve as a deterrent without depriving the inhabitants of their homes.

re drawn

Any solution on the lines indicated would be facilitated by prompt action. It is urgent in the interest of mandatory and mandated alike that the autumnal sowings should be effected and they must be concluded before January. Unfortunately, the new High Commissioner can hardly arrive before December, and he will require some time to study the situation. Before he has arrived and mastered the factors of the problem, I presume that no comprehensive political scheme can be initiated. Thus the margin of time for the adoption of a sane policy of reconstruction is exceedingly narrow, if it is to anticipate and obviate the

disaster which will next year so greatly add to the difficulties of the present political and military situation.

12. It is a matter of fact that the chances of a speedy and successful issue from the present imbroglio are slight. The continuance of the disorders will, as time goes on, cause us more and more anxiety. It is hardly to be hoped that so much as a temporary respite will be obtained. Reactions are bound to occur which will expose the adjoining regions of Palestine and Transjordan to the danger of disorder and brigandage.

I have, &c.

W A SMART

[E 7291/357 89]

No. 334.

Acting Consul-General Mayers to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 26.)

(No. 150.)

Beirut, November 15, 1921.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that, as foreshadowed in paragraph 13 of Document No. 150, the rebels have been completely routed by the Government forces under the orders of Zay Atallah and about 1000 men, and that on the 10th November. The rebels are described as being badly in need of food and clothing.

Next day part of the Government forces by road from Haifa advanced to the Maronite village of Kankaba, where a demand for fifty rifles and £200 was presented. On refusal, fighting broke out and a small pitched battle seems to have resulted. It ended with considerable slaughter on both sides, a Maronite priest being killed, the village of Kankaba looted and the village was set on fire.

These happenings sent a shiver of apprehension through the Lebanon. The Government forces advanced into Nabatieh and the latter part of the Governor motored to Nabatieh to watch such preparations as could be made. The district is practically empty of troops, but a few Christian forces were available were sent to Jezzine, Baalbek, Tyre and Nabatieh. I understand that the rebels were in Haibeya when the band descended on it retired to the bridge over the Litani and to Nabatieh, but that subsequently a force went out to defend Judeide when it was ascertained that the rebels had not penetrated so far.

4. These events have brought the revolt much nearer home to observers in the Lebanon. The Shouf district round Deir-el-Kaizer and the surrounding Druses, has so far remained quiet, as some Christians and a few Christians neighbours. Will an attempt be made to raise them?

5. A report has been received that Dr. Shalander has arrived in Mecca, where he will try to convert to larger numbers of the Druses. It is also reported that the Druses are in a state of excitement and that they are ready to join the rebels. It is also reported that the Druses are in a state of excitement and that they are ready to join the rebels. It is also reported that the Druses are in a state of excitement and that they are ready to join the rebels.

6. The other aspect of the new development. Two days ago a party of five men were seen to be carrying arms and to be in a state of excitement. They were Christians, and they were killed not with any motive of robbery, but in a case of self defence. The incident took place at Deir-el-Ras and the men are thought to have come from a Druse village near A. Z. The men are thus infiltrating into the Lebanon, for the crime was only committed after exploits in the Lebanon.

7. Another aspect of the new development is the fact that the Druses are in a state of excitement and that they are ready to join the rebels. It is also reported that the Druses are in a state of excitement and that they are ready to join the rebels. It is also reported that the Druses are in a state of excitement and that they are ready to join the rebels.

Lebanon to arise in the name of the forty youths who perished. Little further news is arriving and neither side has made an important move. Should the insurrection spread, there will be a new possible danger to be reckoned with that of internecine strife and the conversion of an anti-French struggle into civil war.

8. The Italian consul-general informs me that his Government has despatched ships to Rhodes to watch events here.

I have, &c.  
NORMAN MAYERS

No. 335

Consul-General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received December 26)

(No. 71)

(Telegraphic)

Beirut, November 26, 1925

FOLLOWING from liaison officer (for information of) Air Ministry —

"Martial law proclaimed southern State of Syria. Rashaya relieved and killed. Approximately 300 rebels killed. Rebels retiring south and east. Situation south of Hama disquieting. Railway cut.

(Repeated to) Palestine)

No. 336

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received November 26)

(No. 36)

(Telegraphic)

Damascus, November 26, 1925

STATE of siege proclaimed yesterday (Wednesday) in town of Damascus and suburbs of Damascus and Hama.

No. 337

Mr. Austen Chamberlain to Consul Smart (Damascus)

(No. 29)

(Telegraphic) R

Foreign Office, November 30, 1925

YOUR despatch No. 245 of 17th November. Proposed visit to Amman and Jerusalem.

I gladly authorize proposed visit. You should, however, not start until new French High Commissioner has reached Damascus. He should be met on first possible occasion.

Your despatch No. 236 of 9th November.

I approve your language. I shall impress the importance of the points raised by you on the Colonial Office.

You interpret exactly the policy and wishes of His Majesty's Government.

E 7412 357 89]

No. 338

Acting Consul General Mayers to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received December 1)

(No. 152)

Sir,

Beirut, November 17, 1925

IN continuation of my despatch No. 150 of the 15th instant I have the honour to report that the situation at Beirut has changed a slightly more hopeful outlook in the Southern Lebanon.

2. Yesterday was a day of alarm and despondency. One of the two main newspapers in French went so far as to state that the forces at the disposal of the

mandatory Power here were not sufficient to exercise even a moral, much less a physical, effect on the rebels in their full career of robbery, assassination and incendiarism. The call to arms continued, and lurid tales of rape and atrocity were hinted at. Many deputations waited impatiently on the Governor of the Great Lebanon. The rebels were reported to be moving in villages. Abu Kamba, a village to the south of Beirut, was reported as having suffered the same fate as Kaukaba. Vague reports were received at the advance of Zayd Attash on Jezzin and Nebatiye. I timely expected the news that he had telegraphed a request for destruction.

3. From a visit to the High Commission I gained the impression that reinforcements were not arriving as adequately as had been asked for, and that it would be at least ten days at least before any could be put into the field. Meanwhile, in the neighbourhood of the Southern Lebanon, the worst came to the worst, the French were going to hold Sidon and a central position in the hills, presumably Jezzin.

4. To-day the fall of Judeide (or Marjayoun) the rebels had retreated. It was guarded by gendarmes and armed volunteers. The rebels were not allowed to pass. It was protected by a detachment of Senegalese with machine guns. The rebels were few casualties, but these may be more than admitted. However, the rebels to Jezzin of a battalion of infantry set free by the arrival of the troops mentioned in paragraph 1 above has counteracted the depression in public spirits. Motor vehicles in Beirut have been commandeered for the despatch of these men south. The defences along the Litani hold, and the rebels are not, as reported, in Nebatiye, an excellent centre from which to raise the Matwala.

5. To my knowledge the only British-born person in the affected area is Miss Lilian Cave, of the British Syrian Mission, who has a school in Hama. The occupation of the town was to reduce it to a state of anarchy. I do not think her to Beirut. From what I hear of the friendly attitude of the rebels I do not think that Miss Cave has anything to fear for the moment from the Druses in occupation. Further, I have notified the French of her exact whereabouts and supplied a photograph of her school for identification purposes. This, the British liaison officer informs me, was to be sent to Damascus to-day. If the French should decide to bomb the town from the air they will, therefore, have every means of identifying Miss Cave's house, which is a conspicuous one on the eastern fringe of the town.

6. Two American destroyers have been lying off Beirut for several days, and, as mentioned in paragraph 3 of my despatch under reference, Italian ships have probably been sent to Rhodes to await events. The presence of British ships here would fulfil certain useful purposes. They would in the hour of need or of panic encourage rebels, or the more unworthy breed of thieves and looters, to a healthy respect of British property and lives. They might by their presence tend to keep open the Beirut-Hama road, which is nowhere out of sight or range from the sea; and it would appear fitting, should the worst happen, that British ships should be present with American and Italian vessels to take whatever steps in co-operation should become necessary. On the other hand there can be no doubt that the French were hardly pleased to see American destroyers in the harbour, and I have felt that, in view of the inability of some quarters to perceive that Great Britain is neither a hidden instigator nor a tortuous gawdies in this matter, British ships should not make their appearance here except in the last extremity. If on any future occasion I make, with all respect and in the knowledge that my inexperience will be taken into account, a request that the step of sending ships to Beirut be considered, I trust that the foregoing statement will show that I have neither overlooked the question nor envisaged its consequences without due seriousness.

I have, &c.  
NORMAN MAYERS

E 7409 357 89]

No. 339

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. (Received December 1)

No. 34

Sir,

Damascus, November 18, 1925

WITH reference to my telegram No. 31 of the 12th instant, I have the honour to report that M. Albert Londres, the correspondent of the "Petit Parisien," to whom General Barrail made the declarations in question at Alexandria, called on me yesterday.

[14003]



and said that, as he was quite impartial, he would like to have my point of view on the subject.

2. I replied that, as the matter was under reference to my Government, I was precluded from making any statement. I suggested that he should apply to the French delegate for information.

3. M. Londres said that General Sarrail had told him that I had posted up notices in the town. I replied that this statement was incorrect. I showed him the corner in the consulate waiting-room where the notices had been affixed, and asked him whether he thought that two bits of paper pinned up there could, anyhow, have aided much to a panic created by two days' bombardment. He laughed.

4. M. Londres evidently did not like General Sarrail's statements as gospel truth and generally expressed himself in very friendly terms. He insisted much on the importance of Anglo-French collaboration. I replied that nobody with any sense of responsibility and with some knowledge of the situation in the Arabian Near East could fail to realise how essential to both our countries was such a collaboration.

5. He left for Beirut to-day, promising to lunch with me on his return. No doubt he will have to represent affairs as favourably as possible from the French point of view, but I have hopes that he has sufficient sense of responsibility to avoid making wanton mischief between his countrymen and ourselves.

6. With reference to my despatch No. 340 of the 13th instant, he made some remarks, expressing doubt as to the wisdom of making peace with the Druses before the latter had been reduced. Such a peace, it was thought, would render the Druses arrogant and lead them to cause all sorts of trouble to the French in the future. If M. Londres remarks reflect the fixed view of the supreme French authorities, there can be little hope of an early termination of the present disorders, and the suppression of the rebellion can only be effected by military reinforcements larger than any now in view.

I have, &c.  
W. A. SMITH

[E 7446 367/89]

No. 340.

Acting Consul General Muya to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 154)

Sir,

Beirut, November 22, 1925

IN continuation of my despatch No. 152 of the 17th instant I have the honour to inform you that, swayed between alternate waves of optimism and pessimism, public opinion in Beirut is again inclined to apprehension regarding the situation in the Hasbeya district. There is at present no concern for the safety of the city. Fighting is at present confined to the hill country between the Litani and Mount Hermon. The rebels are attacking at the two bridges of Burkha and Khurdela. However, although they are credited with designs on Nabatiye and Jezzín, the tendency of the conflagration for the moment is to spread northward. Racheya is in the midst of hostile country and is almost besieged. Some Druses in the vicinity are attacking French aeroplanes. Refugees are leaving the Racheya district for Zahle. A French official described the situation to me as still serious.

2. The intentions of Hamzi-el Darwish and Zayd Attarash are not yet clear. It cannot be determined whether their objective is: (1) In a westerly direction, to the Metwally or the Druses of the south; or (2) in a northerly direction, the foothills of the Anti Lebanon, and thence to the Beirut-Damascus road; or (3) a diversion covering an attack by other forces on Rayak or Damascus; or (4) to maintain themselves where they now are in the territory added after much controversy to the new State of the Great Lebanon by the mandatory Power. In the meanwhile, they are attempting by what meagre publicity resources they possess to attract the aid of the Christians, with whom their enemies credit them.

3. Obviously the French will try to encircle them. But in view of the extreme mobility of the bands, their guerilla tactics and the complicity of some parts of the population, this will be a very difficult task.

4. An important political problem has made itself evident during the past week—the question of volunteers. At the time of the occupation of Hasbeya and the sack of Hankaba by the hands of the French authorities, without effective arms to defend the Lebanon, and desperately in need of the improvisation of some form of resistance, resorted to the distribution of rifles mentioned in paragraph 7 of my despatch No. 150 of the 15th instant.

5. The need was desperate, but the remedy is likely to have complications. At best it was a confession of weakness. It laid the mandatory Power open to the dangerous suggestion that, without realising perhaps the consequences, they had encouraged not only civil but also religious war. In those first few days when the widest publicity was given to an appeal to the men of the Lebanon to defend their country, it never occurred to anyone that the volunteers would be anything but Christians. It was in the first place unlikely that arms would be handed out to Metwally and Druses who might desert on their first encounter with the insurgents. In the second place the soul of the resistance was to be the harring of the Lebanon to what are described, in a newspaper which implores its readers to put the religious issue aside, as those pillaging barbarians the men of the Hauran and Damascus, with the Bedouin.

6. Further, the French have been at some pains to correct the impression that the question of religion entered into the defence of the Lebanon. They have made the most of whatever offers of service they have had from the Metwallys and the Sunni Moslems, and will doubtless try to arrange the volunteers, if the experiment, with all its military and political dangers, is continued, on a professedly non-confessional basis. But whatever attempts will now be made to allay suspicion, it is evident that the question of the volunteer army has added one more to the many causes of uneasiness here. The Druses in the districts still untouched by the fighting, being left unarmed in the midst of armed and excited neighbours. The tide of passion and fear may run dangerously high. The Acting High Commissioner, speaking recently to Druse and Christian delegations, asked them not to believe that, if the Government had at first only distributed means of defence to Christians, French solicitude was confined to the latter. It happened, he said, that the villages most menaced at the outset were Christian. The Druse deputations went away, I believe, in some measure calmed by his assurances. On the other hand, a chance murder might set the two factions, in their present nervous state, at one another's throats. The Lebanon might be near one of those slaughters which brought it often before the eyes of the world in the course of the nineteenth century.

7. A difficult administrative task, when the military operations are over, lies before the French. The drift of disturbance towards the Lebanon has brought out vividly the utter cleavage which exists between these mountains, with their long tradition of the Christian and the French connection, and the rest of the territory under French mandate. As long as the trouble only affected the Jebel Druse and Damascus, the noise of battle seemed far away. The menace to his own hearth has brought out all that is separatist in the Lebanese. Let the plague rage in Syria, he thinks, it is outrageous that these "savages" should bring their woes into the Lebanon and inoculate him with their fever. He was shocked at the bombardment of Damascus, but the concern is not now his. To him the Moslem Damascus Nationalists, the Druses and the Bedouin are what the Picts and the Scots, in their savagery and hostility to the Roman legions, were to the peace-loving inhabitants of Romanised Britain.

8. French prestige has lost further ground since the exploits of Zayd have become known. Even those last-ditchers of the French connection, the Christian bishops and patriarchs, are reported to be restive. General Duport and General Gamelin recently visited the aged Maronite Patriarch, a courtesy which it will be remembered General Sarrail put off for six months. The official attitude towards the Christians has not been altered, but the Christians are beginning to question the efficacy of the mandate, not only in the present, but also for the future. The France of the Third Republic, in the manner of the Catholic France of the time of Bossuet would have suited best. The echoes of modern French politics jar on the ears of such personages as Dr. Shahbander. These apparently innocuous declarations have

been received indifferently here. With the best of administrations it will be a long time when the cooperative army of a few months ago is restored. France historically and perhaps permanently linked with the Christian sects in Syria, will find the path towards a permanent peace.

I have, &c  
NORMAN MAYERS

No. 341

Consul General, Beirut to Sir Austen Chamberlain—(Received December 3)

(No. 78)  
(Telegraphic) R. Beirut, December 2, 1925

FOLLOWING TO AD Ministry (see enclosure)  
Situations at Hauran obscure. Railway again cut north of Derna.  
(Reputed to Palestine)

No. 342

Consul Smart to Sir Austen Chamberlain—(Received December 3)

(No. 38)  
(Telegraphic) R. Damascus, December 3, 1925  
YOUR telegram No. 29.

During the last few days bands have penetrated into at least four quarters of the town, including Jewish and consulate quarters, and further incursions are threatened.

On the 30th November French authorities informed me officially that they might have to evacuate the quarters of the town.

French protection can be regarded as only theoretical except in northern suburbs and in the vicinity of the consulates. The situation is therefore very serious except from vagaries of French military action. Persistent French failure to give me timely warnings of possible danger to our people obliges me to watch situation myself with greatest vigilance. I therefore do not feel justified in leaving British colony here at present unless you think visit to Hauran is not too costly.

See my despatches No. 257 of 30th November and No. 259 of 2nd December on the way.

E 7471/357/89)

No. 343

Consul Smart to Mr Austen Chamberlain—(Received December 4)

(No. 254)  
Sir, Damascus, November 23, 1925

IN continuation of my despatch No. 237 of the 10th instant I have the honour to report that band activity in Southern Syria has shown no sign of diminishing and is as follows:

2. Fighting between the bands and the French has been fairly continuous in the Ghab and the Marj. Any detailed description of this guerrilla warfare is fastidious. Serious encounters have taken place at Jisr-al-Ghayda and at Zebdeen, a few miles east of Damascus. At the first place Hassan-al-Kharrat was slightly wounded, and a score of his men killed. At the latter place the rebels claim to have inflicted considerable losses on the French. One French aeroplane the motor of which was hit by a bullet, had to make a forced descent on unfavourable ground just outside the city. The aeroplane was badly damaged, but its occupants escaped with

slight injuries. A number of bridges have been destroyed by the rebels with a view to hampering French military movements. Needless to say, all these French expeditions have been inconclusive. The bands scatter at the approach of any considerable force, which then returns to town, often harried on its way back.

3. The bands have repeatedly approached the eastern gate of the town at night and exchanged fire with the French troops there. On the morning of the 20th instant the corpses of two Circassian and one Kurdish irregulars were found hanging on trees in front of the French positions at the eastern gate, with inscriptions pinned to their breasts to the effect that they had been executed by order of the "Independence Committee." The French have succeeded in raising about a couple of hundred Kurdish irregulars (see paragraph 19 of my above-mentioned despatch), and the Kurds are now sharing with the Circassians the dangerous odium of the Arabs and Druses.

4. I would mention that the gravest apprehensions are being excited by this French policy of using irregulars. This apprehension has been much increased by news from Lebanon to the effect that the French are arming the "Independence" fighters there. Racial and religious antipathies and endless tribal quarrels are treated as the result of this reckless policy.

5. Band raids have been effected on the Mevyan at southern end of the town. The activities of the bands round Damascus are doubtless partly due to the desire to keep here as many French troops as possible, while more important rebel movements are in progress in the Southern Lebanon and elsewhere. It is remarkable how bands, numbering only two or three hundred, can immobilise a large French force at Damascus.

6. Northwards and along the eastern Anti-Lebanon band-rule is still largely prevalent, though there seems to have been latterly a tendency of the bands to move southwards. The Christian villages of Seydnaya and Maloolia continue to be practically besieged. Seydnaya, in view of its abandonment by the French, has formed a sort of ecclesiastical Government of Defence. It is the site of an important convent and is an Orthodox Greek centre.

7. In Wadi-al-Ajam the position has been so serious that the despatch of all government records from Katana to Damascus has been contemplated. However, a French force has just proceeded through Wadi-al-Ajam to Kalaat Jandal, presumably with the intention of taking in the rear the Druse invaders in the Lebanon. This force is said to have had a successful encounter with the Druses at Kalaat Jandal.

8. Round Kunetra the bands remain more or less in possession of the countryside.

9. One curious feature of the situation is the ease with which Druse reinforcements can cross the railway and proceed to Wadi-al-Ajam, Wadi Attaiim and Hama.

10. The bands have not succeeded in making any effective movement against the Damascus-Rayak Railway, nor have they yet made the movement, long feared, from the Anti-Lebanon into the Basileh plain where they have been counting on Metnoul assistance.

11. In the Hauran some Druse raids on villages are reported.

12. It is disgusting to find the natives already depreciating the quality of the recent French reinforcements. A notable, not a Nationalist, gravely declared, in conversation with an Englishman here, that they cannot shoot straight and that some of the soldiers hardly know how to load their rifles. Of course, much of this belief is due to the general native depreciation of everything French and to the more recent loss of French military prestige. I understand, however, that the new troops are really very raw and inadequately trained.

13. It may be said that the French now in Southern Syria do little more than hold the railways and the urban centres. All roads and the countryside have been abandoned to rebel discretion.

14. Events in the Southern Lebanon, where the French seem to have a golden chance, by advances from the Syrian side along Wadi-al-Ajam and Wadi Attaiim, of dealing a heavy blow at the Druses, are being eagerly watched by all malcontents here. If the French fail to profit by the present opportunity and to inflict a severe defeat on these daring invaders, it is to be feared that Syria will furnish other bands for raids into the Lebanon.

15. The approaching rains and winter, whilst making French military movements more difficult, should, at the same time, check the activity of the bands, which



I have, &c.  
W. A. SMART.

*Sir Austen Chamberlain to Consul Smart (Damascus)*

While your visit to Jerusalem would in the normal circumstances be desirable, I agree that present situation at Damascus renders it necessary to postpone visit.

No. 546.

Consul Smart to Mr. Austin Chamberlain.—(Received December 10.)

 $\text{SiF}_4$ 

*Guatemala, November 28, 1925.*

IN continuation of my despatch No. 251 of the 23rd instant, I have the honour to report that a band from the western regions of Southern Syria, under the command of Ahmed Nakhleh, brother of Ismael Nakhleh, a well known leader of the Arab forces, of an estimated strength of about 250 men, arrived at Hama on the 23rd instant, about 25 miles south of Hama. They killed three unfortunate French employees of the "Industrie" who happened to be working there, and then left for the desert a short distance. Hama had been practically denuded of troops and it was feared that the French garrison would be overwhelmed. The French authorities were accordingly informed by the Persian Government via Tripoli, Hama and Palmyra. This would seem to imply that the French authorities at the time were not aware of the arrival of the band. Apparently however, we had received a warning from the French Consul at Tripoli that two battalions which were to be sent from France, were being despatched to Hama via Tripoli. M. Aubouard expected them to arrive to-day or to-morrow at Hama, where their arrival would, he thought, make the town quite safe. Anyhow, he said that the above-mentioned letters could proceed to Hama, where they are to put themselves in the hands of the local officer de renseignements as regards their further progress to Palmyra.

2. The damage to the line has been repaired and railway communications re-established. It is now agreed that the railway was damaged in order to respond to French pressure on the Druse invaders of the Southern Lebanon.

3. A number of troops have been taken from the Damascus garrison and sent to Wadi al-Ajam and Kuteiba. These troops were part of the Damascus garrison and not the Druse invaders of the Southern Lebanon. M. Aubouard, in conversation with me to-day, said that it was not known exactly where the Druses had gone to after their recent repulse from Rasheya. They are probably slipping into Wadi-al-Ajam, round Mount Hermon. It rather looks as if the encircling movement is not going to net them at their probable quarters. The French Zouaves at Damascus are finding out the Druse supply routes. Most of them go to Wadi-Ajam and through the fingers of the French. However, the French troops seem to be harassing the Druse habitations at the Wadi al-Ajam and the slopes of Mount Hermon and generally harrying the rebels in Wadi-al-Ajam and round Kuteiba, in both of which regions severe fighting is now going on.

4. The Ghouta and Merj continue to be the scene of band operations, and the French appear to have no comprehensive plan of dealing with these disorders at the very gates of Damascus. The French Consul General has notified in writing that a French post had been established in Douma, 5 miles east of Damascus, and that this measure had restored order in the eastern garden area, which, needless to say, remains almost entirely at rebel discretion. On the very day of this notification the rebels raided the village of Kharasta, between Douma and Damascus.

5. On the 25th instant, in the late afternoon and again at night, movements were made by bands against the French post just outside the eastern gate of the town. Heavy rifle and some artillery fire seem to have resulted in no casualties. The use of artillery at night against scattered bands advancing through gardens would seem to be of little value. As artillery is quickly used on such occasions, presumably a moral effect is hoped for. Anyhow, it does not seem to deter the bands, which do not hesitate to come right up to the city and even attack octroi posts.

6 The light railway from Dera to Bors Fak, Shani (see paragraph 15 of my despatch No. 237 of the 10th instant) is now completed.

I have, &c.  
W. A. SMART.

E 7620 367 891

No. 246

Acting Consul-General Mayers to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 10)

(No. 162.)

Haigst. November 20, 1925.

515

[illegible][illegible]

3. The rebels had made a grim attempt to capture the fortress, and left 300 dead behind them as a token of their fighting qualities. It has been suggested that they counted on capturing Rasheya and on making it a centre of operations towards the Lebanon. In attacking the regime of Damascus they had extended the scope of the insurrection and gained new supporters. Similarly, they hoped to generalise unrest and confusion in the Lebanon where they have many potential sympathisers. Rasheya fell into their hands without resistance, but thereafter the raid lost momentum. Although they found some friends, they met with opposition from other sections of the population, and the situation was finally saved by the arrival in Syria of French reinforcements. Zayd Attrash then decided on a swift seizure of Rasheya, and, aided by the new men sent him by his brother, made the attempt, which came within an ace of accomplishment.

4 The explanation is not altogether sound. It is unlikely that Zayd thought he could maintain himself definitely in any one position, such as Rasheya, particularly as the French, with all the advantage of guns and cavalry, would have little difficulty in driving him from it if given the time. The raid was obviously intended to secure booty and to increase discontent with the French, and could have hardly aimed at consolidation in the proper sense. It appears much more probable that the insurgents, even if they had succeeded in killing every Frenchman in Rasheya, would in any case have moved rapidly away from the town after the action. Zayd Attrash cannot linger in any spot which is accessible to the striking force which the French now possess in his present sphere of operations.

[1400]

5 The Druses are said to have dispersed eastward towards Hama and south again to Hasbeya, where they will be more sheltered. From what private information is available, some of them appear to be still in the hills east of Hasbeya. The road from Zahle to the town is unsafe, and the mountains echo with occasional shots. The smoke of burning villages can be seen for miles.

6 The French have not modified their policy of burning out suspected friends of the rebels in the villages they occupy, and looting goes on unchecked. I cannot but add what has been pointed out by His Majesty's consul in Damascus, that this harsh treatment, which in the flush of success cannot but be applied indiscriminately, is bound to prolong hatred and multiply desolation. Neither the foreign legionaries nor the Senegalese are likely to care much whom they pillage. I am at present investigating the case of a British naturalised subject of Canada, a Christian living in Hasbeya, who found Senegalese, he says, looting his house. They threatened to shoot him if he disturbed them.

7 The French are in Judeide again, and the centre of disturbance seems to have moved south once more to Hasbeya, where an engagement between the French troops and the insurgents is either already joined or soon imminent. Yesterday I received a telephone message from the French High Commissioner saying that an English lady, whose name was unknown, wanted a motor car sent down at once to Judeide. I despatched a car and put a cavas in charge of it. About 8 in the evening he returned with his fare, who turned out to be the Miss Cave mentioned in paragraph 5 of my despatch No. 12.

8 After being in Hasbeya almost three weeks with the Druses in occupation, Miss Cave, of whom we had in the meanwhile received reassuring news, made her way on foot on the 27th of the month. Her captious disposition being, she confidentially informs me, to warn the French of an ambush prepared for them on the road.

9 I will not repeat the details of Miss Cave's story, which have been given to the "Times". She had been treated with every mark of respect in Hasbeya that they represented not a band of robbers but a government, with a flag of its own. She confirms that the Druses who first seized the town were later joined by local allies. They all expressed hatred of the French, and wanted Miss Cave to come over the border and take charge, they being quite willing to hand over. They were only children, these and not the Druses, who are said to have been in the town. I am sure that the British Government was not in Metallah, but in London. She added that, if they liked, she would write to me and ask me to try to make their peace with the French. They would have none of it.

10 When she left Hasbeya the Druses were beginning to lose confidence. They had been little impressed by the aeroplanes which had bombed the town eight times during the occupation and only killed three persons, of whom one was an old woman. They were uneasy at the general situation. However, if the French caught them they would be hanged, so they were going to fight on.

11 Public opinion is beginning to wonder if M. de Jonvenel will bring any hope of conciliation with him. The Muslims of Beirut have taken note of the fact that the new High Commissioner is not a French general, as the three former ones have been. They are not friends of the Druses, but recent events have reawakened their old sense of grievance. An indication of the trend of their intentions is to be found in a manifesto published a few days ago by the Muslims of Beirut. It says that the Muslims, in spite of injury to their faith, their liberty and their commerce. They hope that the authorities, not making their part in the present situation, will not allow them to be treated as they have been. It will be a great relief to them if they are allowed to live in peace and this explains the doubtful success of his profession of liberalism in Christian circles here.

I have, &c.  
NORMAN MAYERS

(B 7751 357/89)

No. 347

Consul Smart to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. — (Received December 15)

No. 37.)

Damascus, November 30, 1925

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a letter addressed to me by the French delegation regarding the possibility of a bombardment outside the town, and a letter addressed to me in the afternoon of the same day, that certain quarters of the town itself might be bombarded.

I also enclose copy of a letter from the consular corps in reply to the second of the above communications and a copy of the answer of the delegation to the first note.

I also enclose copy of a letter from General Soule regarding the prohibition of bombardment and a copy of a communication from the delegation regarding the prohibition of circulation after 6 p.m. instead of 8 p.m., as has hitherto been the case.

4. The bands in the neighbourhood of Damascus have become more daring and numerous of late. They have received recruits from villages bombed by the French and have been active. Both yesterday and today fighting has been in progress in the eastern quarters. Bands came into the town itself, into the Mayasah (the old quarter) and the Jewish quarters. The bands closed hurriedly to-day in anticipation of danger.

5. It would appear that the French are unable to organise an exterior defence of the town, as urged in the third paragraph on p. 3 of the note of the consular corps enclosed in my despatch No. 216 of the 23rd ultimo. It appears that the French are unable to organise an exterior defence of the town, as urged in the third paragraph on p. 3 of the note of the consular corps enclosed in my despatch No. 216 of the 23rd ultimo.

6. In view of these two facts, it is probable that the bands may have obtained a footing. Perhaps the French are unable to organise an exterior defence of the town, as urged in the third paragraph on p. 3 of the note of the consular corps enclosed in my despatch No. 216 of the 23rd ultimo.

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I have, &c.  
W. A. SMART

Enclosure No. 347

I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a letter addressed to me by the French delegation regarding the possibility of a bombardment outside the town, and a letter addressed to me in the afternoon of the same day, that certain quarters of the town itself might be bombarded.

M. de Jonvenel

Damas, le 30 novembre 1925.

J'ai l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance que des bandes ont été signalées dans le quartier de Mayasah. Elles ont été signalées à un objectif favorable, elles seraient prises sous le feu de l'artillerie.

Je tiens à vous prévenir que, si une pareille éventualité se réalisait, la ville proprement dite ne courrait, de ce fait, aucun danger.

Veillez, &c.

Pour le Délégué du Haut-Commissaire  
auprès des États de Syrie et du  
Liban, absent.

Le Délégué adjoint,  
DELEPHE DESLOGES.





expressed the opinion in several despatches that it is useless to count on French protection at the present moment. I have, of course, ever since the bombardment, warned British subjects that they remain here at their own risk and peril, as I cannot obviously accept responsibility for their safety under the remarkable conditions which the hands and the French between them are causing to prevail at Damascus. The British hospital and the missionaries are reluctant to leave the city, but they would cause great consternation among the Christians at Damascus. In my opinion, British subjects should not be encouraged to remain in the city.

3. I am, of course, doing all I can to ensure the safety of the British subjects. The rebel leaders have been warned that they must not enter the Christian quarter. I have also been warning them to refrain from pillaging, yet is striving to prevent any deliberate action against the Christians. Otherwise, the hands would have before now entered the unprotected Christian quarter.

4. If the French were sensible they would advise all foreign civilians to leave and thus relieve the military of any embarrassment for the safety of foreigners. On the contrary, the civil and military authorities continue to keep up the idle pretence that there is no danger for foreigners in a town which the French themselves contemplate bombarding.

5. I have been warned by many natives that the hands, which have been multiplying round the town during the last few days, intend to make attacks at this moment by way of welcome to the new French High Commissioner.

6. In the Hauran the Druses are showing great activity and endeavouring to stir the Hauranis to revolt. Sultan Pasha Attrash has himself been leading a Druse force which has been recruiting rebels in the Southern Hauran. The French are bombing a number of villages which have succumbed to Druse incursions. It is probably only the fear of French reprisals which prevents the Hauranis from rising. The rebels recently plundered the stations of Jebel and Khazeh, 63 and 69 kilom. respectively south of Damascus.

7. The railway has again been badly cut just south of Damascus and repaired after 24 hours' interruption.

8. The chiefs of the Druse invaders in the Southern Lebanon, Zaid Attrash and Hamza Derwich, appear to be for the moment in Wadi-al-Ajam.

9. The latest report of the rebel force which attacked Kameir (see the first paragraph of my despatch No. 256 of the 28th ultimo) is that it is now in the neighbourhood of Jasiel, about 45 kilom. south of Hama and slightly east of the

railway. Another part of the rebel force centred at Nebk has moved northwards to Sidel.

12. The hands are now being largely maintained financially and in kind by Damascus, which is the principal source of the supplies for the countryside under rebel domination. The hands are now obtaining many recruits from the town of Damascus. A new band has been formed at Kadem, the first station south of the city, many from Meydan recruits. It is commanded by Dib-us-Sheikh, Hassan-al-Kharat's lieutenant.

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15. A part of rebel action is now outside my consular district, and it is difficult to co-ordinate the movements, but there seems to be a general intention of isolating Damascus and menacing railway communications by operations in the territories separated from Syria to turn the Great Lebanon and in the Hauran. The main operations in and around Damascus are doubtless designed to immobilise as many French troops as possible.

I have, &c.  
W. A. SMART

E 7757/357 89]

No. 34

Consul Smart to Sir Austen Chamberlain — (Received December 16.)

(No. 362)

Damascus, December 15, 1925.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 257 of the 28th ultimo, I have the honour to inform you that the French High Commissioner has received the following report from the French Consul at Hama, dated the 14th ultimo, regarding the disorders at Damascus.

I have also the honour to enclose a copy of the reply of the consular corps to the communications of the French delegation on the subject.

I have, &c.  
W. A. SMART

Enclosure 1 in No. 349

V. Bourgeois to Vice-Consul Vaughan-Russell

M. le Consul,  
Damas, le 1<sup>er</sup> décembre 1925.  
EN réponse à votre lettre de ce jour, j'ai l'honneur de vous faire connaître qu'une erreur s'est produite et que les lettres de M. le Général Soule et que nous vous avons transmises.

Le Délégué du Haut-Commissaire auprès des  
Etats de Syrie et du Djebel Druse,  
(P.O.) BOURGEOIS.



Enclosure 2 in No. 349

Consular Corps to French Delegation.

Décanat du Corps consulaire, Damas,  
le 3 décembre 1925.

M. le Délégué,

Il vous a été adressé par le corps consulaire l'annuaire de la ville de Damas du 30 novembre et de votre lettre du 1<sup>er</sup> courant au sujet de possibilités d'événements et de bombardements à Damas.

Le corps consulaire vous prie de bien vouloir transmettre à M. le Général Soulé ses remerciements des indications qu'il a bien voulu lui donner et qui seront très utiles aux consuls vis-à-vis de leurs ressortissants respectifs.

Toutefois, le corps consulaire renouvelle le vœu exprimé dans sa lettre collective du 21 octobre dernier, à savoir, que la situation de la Syrie sur un front militaire hors de la ville, de façon à éviter aux étrangers les périls auxquels ils sont exposés si la ville elle-même est constituée théâtre d'opérations militaires.

En même temps les consuls sont obligés de réserver le droit de leurs Gouvernements respectifs de protéger les intérêts de leurs ressortissants et aux biens des étrangers par le fait d'opérations militaires dans la ville de Damas.

Veuillez, &c  
W. A. SMART,  
Doyen du Corps consulaire.

E 7791 357 89

No 350.

Acting Consul-General Mayers to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 16.)

(No. 100)

Sir,

Beirut, December 6, 1925.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 162 of the 29th November last, I have the honour to inform you that, after a long preparation during which the town has been bombarded by artillery and bombed from the air, Haulaya was retaken by the French forces yesterday. The Druses left about a hundred dead behind.

2. The Lebanon is thus now clear again of any large hostile band. Meanwhile the High Commissioner has been informed that in the military scene. The new High Commissioner arrived on the 2nd December and was given rather a colourless reception in Beirut, where nobody cared to prognosticate what line he would take. At the reception of the consular corps next day M. de Jouvenel made several references to his most coveted wish to visit London, and expressed his hope of a close co-operation between England and France in the Near East. I answered that he could count on receiving from this consulate-general whatever way of friendly co-operation was possible. What M. de Jouvenel said on his yesterday he spoke in the same vein. Whatever may happen in the future it appears evident that the new High Commissioner begins his administration in Syria with a view to a close co-operation with France. It will be the best foundation on which to rebuild the dilapidated house of French prestige in this country.

3. While in Egypt M. de Jouvenel had the extremist demands of the Nationalists presented to him. They were according to the press to demand that all the territory now under French mandate should be given the independence, and should be governed by a temporary national government leading to a permanent one. At the same time, if the League of Nations the country would accept. The new situation between France and Syria were to be decided by a future assembly, and they entered with us to work. They were to be worked out on the basis of Syrian independence, but the Lebanon was free to decide by plebiscite whether she would accept them or not.

4. These proposals, written evidently with an eye on the present régime in Iraq and of still a further step, might that I should have seen them, I fear, outside my province. They were presented in a note from a so-called Syro-Palestine committee backed by two young Moslem journalists sent as emissaries from Beirut for the occasion.

5. From the Beirut and predominantly Christian point of view they present an air of complete absurdity. Any West Syrian who is a Christian, who is a member of the Lutheran circles in Cairo have always received here. They aroused not only angry comment but also some apprehension. The Lebanon was not quite sure of M. de Jouvenel. He had made so many declarations that he might be capable of anything. To add to the atmosphere of uncertainty a feeling of tension has been growing in some of the outlying quarters, if without any foundation in fact, are at least a symptom of a state of nervousness. Even General Dupont, to whom I expressed my good wishes for the success of the new régime, said he hoped for the best, but that it was necessary to approach Syrian problems, even in the case of a man who had worked with the League of Nations, with very plastic ideas.

6. A violent press campaign was therefore started demanding that there should be no general amnesty, which was evidently considered as possible. An outcry was raised for vengeance on behalf of the victims of the Druses in Rasheya, Kankaba and other ravaged villages. It was demanded that chastisement and repression should precede any attempt at reform. Thus out of the far-off revolt in their mountain of the chieftains of the Druses has come the reawakening of the ancient enmity between Christianity and Islam and a restatement in all its acuteness of the separate individuality of the Lebanon.

7. A demonstration of this individualism, so inimical to any sense of unity in the territory under French mandate, is the motion carried in the Lebanese Representative Council on the day before M. de Jouvenel arrived. It was decided that France was to be congratulated and thanked for having defended from outside aggression, at so great personal loss, the liberty and independence of the Lebanon. Trust in France as the mandatory Power was reaffirmed. Every one of the members knows that, mandatory Power or no mandatory Power, the enemy had been within the gates. However, the motion was passed. It was a demonstration of the Lebanon's individuality and two Moslems. A year ago they would never have dreamed of such originality.

8. The attitude of M. de Jouvenel immediately on his arrival has dispersed any such ideas. He was seen to be a man who was ready for war, and offered peace to those who seek it. Speaking to the soldiers who defended Rasheya, he said that if to-morrow it should be permitted to him to organize in this country institutions such as a free nation, then it was to them that the Lebanon would owe not only her safety and her independence, but also her constitution.

9. The churchmen with nothing better. Their dread of a general amnesty and of an increase in Moslem prestige is dispelled, and they see the danger to their ascendancy in the Lebanon fading away into thin air. To-day M. de Jouvenel has attended a consular mass, such as that described in my despatch No. 149 of the 1st November. He was told from the altar steps that, in spite of changes in the mission of the Church still looked to France as their protector. Satish was written on every ecclesiastical face, while a crowd outside the church applauded the new High Commissioner with enthusiasm.

10. M. de Jouvenel will not therefore, like his immediate predecessor, flout Christian influences. His reputation makes it unlikely that he will allow himself to be engulfed by them. He made a clever and dramatic move when, in thanking the Representative Council of the Great Lebanon for their address mentioned in paragraph 7 above, he stated that, as a response for their loyalty and their attachment to peace, the council would be called on to deliberate, France having previously defined her obligations as mandatory Power, on a new constitution for the Lebanon.

11. The declaration of M. de Jouvenel was a declaration of the French Government's intention to continue its policy in the Lebanon. It had been known for some time that the French Government was preparing a new constitution for the Lebanon. The declaration of M. de Jouvenel was a declaration of the French Government's intention to continue its policy in the Lebanon. It had been known for some time that the French Government was preparing a new constitution for the Lebanon.

12. It is a significant fact that the High Commissioner of the Lebanon has been a Frenchman. This is a fact which is of great importance for the Lebanon. It is a fact which is of great importance for the Lebanon. It is a fact which is of great importance for the Lebanon.

\* Not printed

I have, &c.,  
NORMAN MAYFIELD

*Consul, Damascus, to Sir Austen Chamberlain - Received December 17 1907*

E 7996 847 89] No 352

*Conrad Smart to Sir Austen Chamberlain.*—(Received December 22.)

[illegible]

4 On the 7th instant, during the day, a band made a more serious attack on the French position. It was repulsed. The French kept permanently a respectable force for the protection of the railway. Fighting went on all day, and the French artillery fired across the

[illegible]

6 Incidentally, it is difficult to see how, in view of this miscellaneous and frequent artillerie fire as the town from several directions, the given quarter could recognise the late warning flashes which ~~the enemy~~ ~~is supposed to~~ ~~be able to~~ ~~recognise~~ country, are supposed to notify its coming bombardment (see Enclosure 5 in my despatch No 257 of the 30th ultimo)

One of the villages thus bombarded, Kabr-us-Sitt, has an old mosque in which is the tomb of Zennab, the sister of Hussein. The French gunners appear to have fired with good effect, for though the village was badly damaged the mosque escaped unhurt. The houses to the east of the mosque, however, were, of course, destroyed and the safety of the people of the village is a matter of some concern.

8. In the Hauran, French aerial bombing and arrests of notables are counteracting, apparently with success, the Druse efforts to provoke a general Haurani rising.

Almost every night attacks are made by the rebels on the outskirts of the town, but as both they and the French troops rarely get into close contact most of the firing is innocuous. I cannot attempt to recount in detail the vagaries of the guerilla in the outlying country.

clusive appears to have hitherto resulted therefrom.

11 The hands along the Eastern Anti-Lebanon have been pushing northwards and have got astride the Hama-Palmyra road. There are reports of quarrels between the band leaders. It is said that Hassan-al Kharrat, who is reported to be more disinterested than the others, objects to the predatory activities of Akkashah and Ramadan Shalah. He is even reported to have threatened violent measures against the person of the latter.

12 M. de Jouvenel has announced that he is not coming to Damascus until Damascus is ready to receive him, and that meanwhile Southern Syria is to be left to General Gamelin to deal with. He has refused to make any conciliatory offers or constitutional concessions until the rebel return to the ways of peace. The rebels on the other hand, refuse to stop hostilities until they know what they are to get in exchange.

13. It is to be hoped that M. de Jouvenel, immobilized in the Christian and Syrian of Beirut, will not see a false perspective of the essentially Moslem of the Syrian Nationalist Movement of Moslems and Christians with one the Lebanese will help to settle the retention in the non-Christian of the Syrian of Damascus have gone to Beirut to see the new High Commissioner, but none of them are, of course, of the Nationalist persuasion.

14 Anyhow for the moment, "à manière forte" seems to be in favour. A number of the remaining Nationalist notables of Damascus have just been arrested.

15 If this policy is to be pursued, the French must make up their minds to increase their troops and to suffer heavy casualties. Nothing can be achieved by the use of the established tactics of life and bombard the open country with artillery. The magnitude of the military problem and serious situation created by the French. Behind all the present battlefields, in Wadi-al-Ajam, in the Hauran,



around Kanisra, Damascus, Nebk, Hama, looms always the inviolate mountain, which no army has yet thoroughly conquered in the course of history. If the French are to succeed where Egyptian and Turk failed, they must, after sweeping back the bands from the urban centers and the lines of communication, strike a grand and costly offensive against the Jebel Druze. Obviously no action against the bands in the open country can settle the rebellion unless its mountain base is subdued. The question seems to be whether public opinion in France will permit casualties on the scale necessitated by such heavy operations. Moreover, even if finally victorious at the price of much treasure and blood, the French will find themselves masters of a completely neutralized Syria, with all its resources at the disposal of a hostile power. Even now it seems fairly evident that no Syrian budget will be possible next year without subsidies from France. Taxes will be levied, but the French troops will eat up the surplus, and the French country.

16. Colonel Andréa, until now Governor of the Jebel Druse in *paribus*, has been appointed military commander of Damascus, and new French officers have just arrived here to reorganize the gendarmerie and the police, but I propose to report in ~~an~~ a despatch on this development which has not been made public, at least changes in the Syrian Government.

I have, &c  
W A SMART

E 8077 257,89]

No. 353.

*Consul Hough to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 29)*

(No. 85.)

Sir,

*Aleppo, December 14, 1925.*

I HAVE the honour to report that M. de Jouvencel, the new High Commissioner, has just completed a three days visit to Aleppo. The general impression of the situation in the city was rather unexpected, and it was allowed to be inferred that, in some measure, it might be taken as a mark of approval of the peaceful behaviour of Aleppo during the recent troubles.

2. The town showed lavish hospitality to the High Commissioner during his stay, but it cannot be said that his visit provoked any overwhelming enthusiasm. The new High Commissioner, however, is to be met at the airport by a large number of officials, and the town is to be the scene of an already considerable loss of High Commissioners, under whose succession of brief reigns the prosperity of the country has not increased commensurately. The High Commissioner has apparently been here for a short time, and has not yet had an occasion to express his views. However, his obvious qualities of broadmindedness, willingness to hear and accept, and added to considerable personal charm.

3. In the following paragraphs I submit some notes on certain points of detail with which the High Commissioner dealt. I can vouch for their accuracy, as the matters to which I was not a personal witness were told to me by M. Rene François, "chef du cabinet civil," whom I sat next to at dinner.

4. In receiving the consular body M. de Jouvenel made a special point of addressing himself to my Turkish ally, and assured him that Turkey would be quite mistaken in regarding the Treaty of Locarno as a sign that the Western Powers were banding themselves together to the detriment of certain eastern States. The true purpose of the Locarno spirit was, he affirmed, an extension of the spirit which had brought about the Anglo-French entente to other countries, and an abandonment of the Locarno spirit of exclusive understanding and accommodation would embrace more and more countries. There is no doubt that apart from the Treaty of Locarno, M. de Jouvenel's visit to London has given the Turks the impression that England and France are leagued together against them.

5 M de Jouvenel saw everybody at Aleppo who might have anything to contribute to his knowledge of the place, not excepting the most extreme nationalists. He found Assad would be ready to furnish him with information that Aleppo should be a free independent Damascus, so that he should do something to

improve their commerce. I will deal separately with the way M. de Jouvanel dealt

to the Syrians themselves, in which the mandatory Power had no cause to interfere. The Mandatory Power was not to be a party to the State Affairs of Syria, and was not to have any say in the management of their own affairs, however they dealt with the policy that passed in the exercise of the mandatory Power.

7. As regards the proposal for greater or complete autonomy for Aleppo, the USSR Government was of the view that Syria was a unit and that the Syrian people should be free to determine their own future. The USSR Government was of the view that the Syrian people should be free to determine their own future. The USSR Government was of the view that the Syrian people should be free to determine their own future.

8. The attitude regarding the serious matter of Alep-ge seems slightly to have relaxed the High Commissioner. I gathered that the Alep-ge people have been so long in the process of settling down and adjusting to the new life that their business was bad, and that it was important to the Arabs to do something about it. When asked what, they said that it was the business of the ruling power to know what the Alep-ge needed for their new roads and so forth. They said that if the High Commissioner could give them the permission to use the roads and other things he would return the rest of the taxes as he desired. Since they were not given the right to do so, they were naturally dissatisfied and had begun to show a certain degree of the political character and insight of the natives. Alep-ge even in matters which concern them.

It is too early yet to say what good effects the High Commission's visit may have had, but it is more than probable that the people of Aleppo are not so solidly attached to the rebel cause. I am not Mr. H. himself, who forms the basis of the disaffection, but it is very probable that the men, even though they are not so much attached to the rebel cause, will accept of a change, their whole conduct will be different. The V. L. I. men with which I have been personally conversing, are of this opinion. I believe, with the exception of a few, that has been persuaded to withdraw it. I do not know the number of those disaffected. Finally, the non-participation of Aleppo in the rebellion has created the more confidence in the Government, and those who speak of withdrawing support from the Government will say, I believe, that resistance is still but a mass of idle talk, and that the Government will be able to deal with the rebels with a slight reserve. I have names and particulars to some extent, it is true, but the inventive capacity of local gossip is hard to assess.

I have, &c.  
W BOUGH

No. 354

*Consul General, Beirut, to Sir Austen Chamberlain. — (Received December 29.)*

(No. 77)

(Telegraphic)

Beirut, December 23, 1925

LOFALOW INC., Paper and Allied Products Division, 10000

"Amnesty granted to rebels handing over arms by the 8th January. Leaders submitting by the 8th January will not suffer death penalties. Hoch Commissioner not optimistic of results, and expects further expeditions against the rebels will be necessary in the spring."

(Repeated to Bagdad and Palestine )

Consul Smart to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 30)

(No. 270.)

Sir,

Damascus, December 11, 1925

1. On the 10th inst., I have the honour to report that several bands entered the town and attacked the outskirts of the Christian quarter yesterday morning.

2. One band, just before 11 A.M., entered the consulate quarter with the usual action of a band of robbers. The band was that of the Syrian Arab Army, who were posted in the quarter. I received a message from the band leader, who asked me to let him know where the consul was. I told him that I was in the consulate. I need hardly say that no one ventured into the town to fetch him, and he stayed in the consulate until the afternoon, when I sent him away.

3. The band seized all the rifles and ammunition of the police and went across the town unhindered towards another band which, about the same time, entered the Christian quarter and passed through the Bab-us-Selam quarter towards the city. The police were not able to do anything to stop them, and they subsequently without any difficulty. These bands molested no one except the police, and indulged in no plundering.

4. About the same time another band attacked the French post under the walls of the British Hospital, and captured it.

5. As soon as I had finished my telephonic conversation with M. Aubouard, I made my way down to the Christian quarter, picking up a guide from Amir Said on the way. At every alley leading out of the quarter into the gardens were stationed police who were armed with rifles. When I got to the hospital I found the French installed in its tower firing with Lewis guns and rifles at the rebels in the gardens beyond. An armoured car was stationed in front of the hospital, and was well armed. The French were firing at the rebels, and the rebels were firing at the French.

6. Dr. Brigstocke, the director of the hospital, explained to me what had happened. When the band entered the hospital, a series of operations were being carried out. The French assistant adviser of police and two French gendarmes came to the locked gate of the hospital and demanded admittance. The matron came down and tried to explain, through an inadequate Arab interpreter, that she could not open without the permission of the doctor. The French civilian official seemed to be very excited and said that they were being exposed to danger by this delay in opening the gate. The matron, however, went back to see Dr. Brigstocke, who could not interrupt the operation to discuss matters. Meanwhile, the French forcibly effected an entrance. Though none of the English staff know quite what happened, it appears that the French hoisted over the wall two boys, who forced the old female gatekeeper to surrender the key. At this time, Dr. Brigstocke was at the hospital, and the rebels were firing at the French.

7. The rebels, of course, responded to the fire from the tower, and by the time I arrived three bullets had already passed through the window at the end of the long corridor into which the wards opened. The women's ward and the operating room were especially exposed to fire from the rebels.

8. No officer was visible anywhere, but I spoke to the French gendarme who appeared to be in charge of the operations. I pointed out to him that, by using the hospital for military purposes, he was exposing his patients to danger. He was apologetic, said that he had only entered after having obtained permission that he had thought the rebels might attack the hospital, that anyhow, he would not do it again. Needless to say, no permission to enter had been granted. However, to the relief of us all, he and his comrades withdrew from the hospital and joined the others in the armoured car in the road. The firing went on for some time, but the rebels were evidently no longer replying, and presumably disappeared.

9. I called this morning on Colonel Andréa, who has replaced General Seale as military commander in Damascus. I pointed out to him the danger to the hospital posed

by the action of the French and begged him to study the question carefully, with a view to the hospital being moved to a safer position. He said that the hospital with the military dispositions necessary for its defence was in a very exposed position, and that the road should be moved a couple of hundred yards further towards the open country in front of several houses abandoned by their inmates, so that, in the event of attack the rebel bullets would not go into the hospital.

10. Colonel Andréa was very apologetic. He said that he had been told that the hospital tower had only been used for purposes of defence, and that he could not promise to move it more than that. He said that if he did not want a guard in the hospital he could not be responsible for a rebel attack on it. I said that we seemed to be in a quandary and that I had come to ask his advice. The director of the hospital was more afraid of rebel fire being attracted by the French post than of a direct rebel attack.

11. Colonel Andréa told me that he was shortly going to start an offensive in the Ghouta and the Merj, and that he would not be content with dispersing the bands but would try to destroy them in the surrounding country so as to keep them from returning to the town. He mentioned the names of Captain Lavigne and Captain Bouvier, the officers mentioned in the last paragraph of my above mentioned despatch, were under his direction, going to stir up the gendarmerie and establish gendarmerie outposts at various points of the town. He hoped in this way to prevent the renewal of incidents such as those of the previous day.

12. Our conversation was exceedingly friendly, and I got the impression that Colonel Andréa is likely to be more active than General Soulé, who, I gather, is returning to France.

13. I then called on M. Aubouard and told him of my conversation with Colonel Andréa. M. Aubouard thought that the attack on my quarter was a political demonstration against the recent arrest by the French of one of its notables. M. Aubouard was of the opinion that the attack was a passing fancy from the Christian to the Salhiyyeh quarter, in the neighbourhood of which the attack took place. As a matter of fact, one band in the afternoon could be seen with the naked eye on the hill above the Salhiyyeh quarter.

14. M. Aubouard said that there were now seven battalions at Damascus, and that these reinforcements made any further danger unlikely. Moreover, all the gendarmes on the Beirut road had been withdrawn and concentrated at Damascus.

15. This withdrawal of the gendarmes from the Beirut road had, although M. Aubouard did not mention it, been necessitated by the fact that they would all have been slaughtered if they had been left there any longer. Although these gendarmes never emerged from their posts to interfere with the bandits, the latter had hitherto become quite unfeeling, attacking the gendarmes in their shelters and killing and wounding several. The gendarmes' presence on, or absence from, the road does not affect its insecurity.

16. After leaving the delegation I went down to the British hospital, where I found the French, from the barrage on the road, preparing again for hostilities. However, they only used a tank gun and fired with rifles and Lewis guns for about half an hour towards the gardens, with what result I cannot say. My gendarme friend of the previous day greeted me very amicably and said that there were between 1,200 and 2,000 rebels in the gardens. He had recently been affected by the Oriental atmosphere of exaggeration. He said that the French had on the previous day picked up two dead rebels in the gardens by the hospital.

17. An inhabitant of the adjoining village of Jobar, which had been fired on from the hospital tower on the previous day, told the doctor that the rebels had wanted to attack the hospital, and he argued that in view of the fire coming from its roof it could not be the British but must be the French hospital. However, no effect was given to this intention, if, indeed, it were not merely an invention of the narrator.

18. A considerable body of French troops and native irregulars passed right through the town this afternoon and past the British hospital into the open country accompanied by aeroplanes flying low. Another force was sent through the Salhiyyeh quarter into the gardens, and the two forces are perhaps trying to round up the rebels in the north-eastern outskirts, which aeroplanes had been bombing in the morning.

19. There are now so many troops in Damascus that the French, it would seem, can have no difficulty in preventing serious attacks on the town, though farcical raids as those described at the beginning of this despatch may continue.



20 The nightly cannonading across the town towards distant villages (see paragraph 5 of my above-mentioned despatches continues). Colonel Andrea told me that he found it exasperating as it prevented him from sleeping, but that it was useful in harrying the rebels. I suggested that he would soon get used to it.

21 In view of this detection of band activity towards the Christian quarter I have advised British subjects in case of trouble not to make for the British house as previously suggested, but to stay in their houses or come to the consulate if practicable.

I have &c  
W A SMART

E 8139 357 891

No 356

Acting Consul-General Mayers to Sir Austen Chamberlain - (Received December 30)

N 171  
Sir

Beirut, December 14, 1925

I have been with the situation of affairs in the past week has been quiet in the Lebanon. The trains from Damascus, arriving at very irregular intervals owing to sabotage on the line, bring in consignments of persons seeking a better life. The British High Commissioner is doing his best to find a small way on the problem of the refugees from the more troubled areas. All idea of any real menace to Beirut has vanished although military patrols now move in the neighbourhood of the city. The Christians have been very friendly to the British High Commissioner. The Muslims have been very friendly to the British High Commissioner. The British High Commissioner has been very friendly to the British High Commissioner. The British High Commissioner has been very friendly to the British High Commissioner.

2. The High Commissioner disappeared about the middle of the week at Tripoli. He was with the British High Commissioner. The British High Commissioner has been very friendly to the British High Commissioner. The British High Commissioner has been very friendly to the British High Commissioner.

3. Rumour too has given away a considerable slice of the Secret. The British High Commissioner has been very friendly to the British High Commissioner. The British High Commissioner has been very friendly to the British High Commissioner. The British High Commissioner has been very friendly to the British High Commissioner.

4. The Muslims of the Lebanon consider that a return to the status quo ante is the only way to peace. The British High Commissioner has been very friendly to the British High Commissioner. The British High Commissioner has been very friendly to the British High Commissioner. The British High Commissioner has been very friendly to the British High Commissioner.

5. Deliberations in the Representative Council over the "statut organique" have been very friendly to the British High Commissioner. The British High Commissioner has been very friendly to the British High Commissioner. The British High Commissioner has been very friendly to the British High Commissioner.

down that the Constitution was to be the joint work of the local authorities and the mandatory Power. The reply made by the French delegate was to the effect that the High Commissioner's approbation of the committee's findings would constitute the collaboration to which reference was made.

I have, &c  
NORMAN MAYERS

E 8137 3440 891

No 357.

Consul Smart to Sir Austen Chamberlain - (Received December 30.)

No. 273.)

Damascus, December 17, 1925

WITH reference to your telegram No. 29 of the 20th ultimo, I have the honour to report that, as the new French High Commissioner showed no sign of coming over to Damascus for the present, I thought it advisable to make a brief trip to Beirut in order to visit his Excellency, so that I might be free to seize the first opportunity of starting from here for Amman and Jerusalem. The concentration of ten battalions at Damascus and the beginning of the advance into the Ghouta (see paragraph 11 of my despatch N 27 of the 14th inst.) seemed to promise for a few days at least a quiet life in the town. I only just got back to Damascus in time for an attack by the rebels in the neighbourhood of the British hospital, on the expeditionary force returning to the town, but I am reporting on this affair in a separate despatch.

2. M. de Jouvenel received me with great kindness. He hoped, he said that I had retained no disagreeable memories of the past, which, as far as he was concerned could be regarded as entirely obliterated. He was very grateful for the friendly sentiments towards France expressed in my reports which you had read to him.

3. I told him that personally I would have been very glad if the French officials in Syria had been able to secure my removal. Things had been made very unpleasant for me, even in quite personal ways. Apparently, the British consul at Damascus could not fail to become an object of suspicion to French officials here. There was the Fatahian plot, which France at Damascus did not seem able to forget. Then, owing to the peculiar position of Damascus, every time French officials were discontented with some development in our neighbouring mandatory countries which resulted in Syria they were inclined to visit their displeasure on the British official at Damascus.

4. M. de Jouvenel replied that he was determined not to allow this atmosphere of suspicion to continue. From his experience at the League of Nations, he knew that when things were going wrong everything went wrong when they were united all difficulties were smoothed away.

5. I assured him that he could count on me never to do anything against France at Damascus but I hoped that he would not listen too easily to accusations made against me.

6. He replied that he would never allow himself to be thus influenced and that, if charges were made against me, he would refer them to me quite precisely for explanation.

7. I told him that I was about to proceed to Transjordan and Palestine and that I hoped, as soon as he had got free from his first official duties, to visit him at Jerusalem.

8. M. de Jouvenel then mentioned Lord Plumer at Jerusalem. Meanwhile, to give effect to the promises he had made to the British High Commissioner, he was deputed Colonel Maillat to open negotiations with our mandatory authorities with a view to frontier delimitations.

9. The choice of this delegate appears to be happy for Colonel Maillat, who was on the Turco-Syrian Frontier Commission, has been reported as Anglophile and anti Turk by His Majesty's consul at Aleppo.

10. I gathered that Colonel Maillat would proceed almost immediately to Jerusalem.

11. M. de Jouvenel then enquired whether we could tentatively examine the possibility of some co-operation in Bedouin control. He had already noticed that his Bedouin control officers, in supporting demands for subsidies to be paid to

Bedouin chiefs, used to urge that the British paid these chiefs large sums and that the French merely to fill their own pockets, were trying to induce the English and French to outbid each other.

12. Obviously French officials at Damascus had been reporting to the French High Commissioner, no doubt with distortions, our negotiations with the Ruala for the safeguarding of the Amman-Bagdad route. Although I had not yet received Colonel Cox's authority to speak to the French about this matter (see my despatch No. 269 of the 10th instant), I took upon myself to explain to M. de Jouvenel that we were paying an extremely modest subsidy to Noori Shalan for the very definite purpose of safeguarding a road in Transjordan and Irak which ran through Ruala territory.

13. On this particular point, and generally in our conversation I was somewhat familiar with names of tribes or persons, geographical or political details in expressing the hope that we would think the matter over.

14. M. de Jouvenel then referred to the question of armed Druses, when hard pressed by the French, crossing into Palestine. A report had been received that a dozen armed Druses had recently crossed the Palestinian frontier near Hasbeya had been arrested and disarmed, but had subsequently been allowed to re-enter Syria with their arms. He did not believe this report, which, as a matter of fact, had been contradicted by a subsequent report. However, he hoped that we would take care of any Druses thus crossing into our territory.

15. I said that I had already heard this story from Major Salisbury Jones, who had heard it from Commandant Dentz, the head of the "Services de Renseignements". The story did not sound at all likely.

16. M. de Jouvenel said that he had given orders that no more Turkish troops should be allowed to pass eastwards along the Bagdad Railway, he had just refused permission for a number of Turkish mitrailleurs to be passed along that line.

17. M. de Jouvenel also referred to the situation in Southern Syria. He said that he could, of course, have at once paid a perfunctory visit to Damascus, but, at present, he could have made no pronouncement there. He preferred to wait until I could go to Damascus with something definite to offer. Meanwhile, he was discussing the situation with numerous Damascene notables who had been coming to Beirut. I agreed that it seemed wiser for him to talk matters over at Beirut with Damascene envoys, who would speak much more frankly outside of the troubled atmosphere of Damascus.

18. M. de Jouvenel detained me for a considerable time and when I took leave of him he said that he hoped soon to return my visit at Damascus.

19. In short, our whole conversation was of a most friendly and even intimate character. M. de Jouvenel seemed to me to be a man of good sense and that he was dealing with a friend of his country. His friendliness was no doubt due to your intervention, for which I venture to express my respectful thanks.

20. M. de Jouvenel hardly gave me the impression of being a man of action. It is doubtful whether intelligence, broad-mindedness and sympathy, all of which he seems to possess, will be enough to bring back disordered Syria to the ways of peace. The Oriental is, in the end, only impressed by the perception of personal power in the man he has to deal with.

I have, &c  
W A SMART

E 8141 357 89.

No 358

(Sent Smart to Sir Austen Chamberlain—(Received December 30))

(No 278)

Sir,

Damascus, December 18, 1925

WITH reference to my despatch No. 270 of the 11th instant, I have the honour to report that the French advance into the Ghouta and the Merj began on the 14th instant, after a preliminary bombardment of various points in the eastern gardens lasting for about an hour. Light and heavy guns, from the citadel in the town, from the arsenal in the northern suburbs and from Fort Gourbi, the

dominating Damascus from the south-west, were used in this bombardment. Bombing aeroplanes accompanied the force in its advance.

2. It would appear that very little fighting took place, the hands, of course, having made themselves scarce. Some prisoners were brought in, but it is not clear whether they were armed rebels or non-combatant inhabitants of villages in the zone of operations. Captain Georges Picot, Colonel André's chief of the staff admitted to me that no Druses could have been in this eastern garden area, for, had they been there the French could not have had such insignificant casualties—six wounded, according to him.

3. After having established posts at various points in the Ghouta and the Merj, some at the extreme limits of the oasis, the bulk of the expeditionary force returned to the town on the 16th instant. In the afternoon of that day the retiring force was attacked on both its flanks as it approached the town. On its left flank the attack took place only about half a mile from the British hospital. Firing was fairly intense, but apparently the troops and the rebels did not get into very close contact.

4. The French official communiqué claims that 400 rebels were killed. This figure is obviously ridiculous, unless the troops have been killing peaceful villagers and counting them as rebel casualties.

5. I reached Damascus on that day at 4.30 P.M. after my visit to M. de Jouvenel at Beirut, and I had some difficulty in getting across the town from the station to the British hospital owing to the block caused in the streets by the returning troops which seemed to be very numerous, for the head of the column was in the northern suburbs long before its tail had entered the town from the other end. I reached the hospital shortly after 5 P.M., just as the rearguard, mainly consisting of tanks, was entering the town.

6. I found that Colonel André had moved the French post (see my above mentioned despatch) 200 yards beyond the hospital, which, I learnt from the director had on this occasion been troubled by no stray bullets.

7. It is said that villagers, exasperated by the threat of the military authorities to cut down all trees within a certain radius of the city, were responsible for this attack on the retiring French troops, and that they were encouraged in their audacity by the belief that the retirement implied a French defeat. The French are taking advantage of the military situation to put into execution an old plan for making a broad boulevard along the north-eastern edge of the town, to connect the modern quarter of Salluyeh with the Bagdad road. The pretext is that this boulevard is necessary for the movement of troops. Trees are being cut down without for the moment, any consideration of proprietary rights or compensation.

8. The approach of the offensive was generally known, and, for several days beforehand, the rebels devoted considerable attention to the Damascus-Beirut Railway, no doubt with a view to impeding the movement of troops and supplies. On the evening of the 11th instant a band pulled up 300 yards of the line and destroyed a culvert at Bekiyeh, 30 kilom. from Damascus, burnt the railway station and attacked the electric power station there, which supplies Damascus with electricity. The power station was defended by live wires, which are said to have kept the band at bay for some time, but they were eventually overcome after a good fight, until they were relieved by an armoured train. The line was repaired after an interruption of thirty-six hours.

9. On the night of the 12th-13th instant, another band cut the line at Yafsofa, 66 kilom. from Damascus, but this damage was repaired after an interruption of twenty-four hours. The band was apparently outnumbered and had to retreat before the band.

10. On the 17th instant, the band of Akkashah was reported a few hundred yards east of the station of Ain Fijeh (21 kilom. from Damascus), where is the source of the drinking water supply of Damascus. An armoured train was at once sent to the spot, and the band disappeared.

11. Almost every night the bands have been firing at passing trains, but these demonstrations have hitherto been innocuous.

12. On my way back from Beirut I found the station of Zebdani, the capital of the Ghouta, in the hands of the French troops. The Kaimakam of Zebdani got into my train and announced that he had just resigned owing to what he described as a wound to the line. According to him, this village was quite peaceful. A band had



entered and left it, the villagers being powerless to resist. Subsequently it had been bombarded by the French, who had killed eight harmless villagers and wounded a number of others. A shell had also killed a gendarme, who had a few hours before been bastinadoed by the rebels for refusing to co-operate with them.

13. Of course, native presentations of such affairs must be taken with caution, but I fear that, owing to the absence of political officers with the forces, much destruction of innocent villages is effected by French troops ignorant of local conditions.

14. On my return journey from Beirut I noticed that the number of French posts in the Hama district had been increased, and that the French posts had been reinforced. Several villages close to the line had the appearance of being deserted by their inhabitants.

15. Bands have also been in evidence along the railway south of Hama, and one band attacked and plundered the station at Kusseir, the scene of the murder of the three French civilian employees of the cadastre last month (see paragraph 1 of my despatch No. 256 of 25th ultimo). Incidentally, I was recently informed by a French employee of the cadastre that these three unfortunate Frenchmen were not murdered by the bands, but were killed by the French troops. They were murdered after the departure of the band by landowners of Kusseir, who resented a cadastrial restriction of their land usurpations.

16. Further north around Hama, the situation appears to have improved owing to the submission of the Mawali tribe, which participated in the Hama revolt of last October.

17. Early this morning the troops, after a very brief preliminary bombardment, moved out of Damascus again, with the object of establishing new posts and of sweeping the rebels into the various posts previously established in the eastern oasis. The village of Jihar, close to the British hospital, came in for considerable attention, and several British refugees from it arrived at the consulate during the course of the day with the usual excited tales of French violence. The city, indeed, is full of refugees. The expeditionary force returned to the town at sunset. No doubt further expeditions of this kind are to follow.

18. It is unlikely that the bands proper, as distinct from villagers, who on a matter of fact, it is improbable that considerable bands can any longer find sufficient food supplies in this stricken area, which the bands and the French between the lines are now engaged in. The French are now engaged in the process of realising the folly of destroying villages and propose to adopt a system of hostages (see paragraph No. 9 of my despatch No. 240 of the 13th ultimo) to be taken from the different villages in the Merj and the Ghouta.

19. While attempting to clear up the eastern garden area Colonel Andreu apparently hopes to disarm the town of Damascus, from which the bands are largely recruited. He has just issued a proclamation to the effect that all arms and ammunition in the city must be surrendered before the 1st January, 1926, after which date any in whose possession search has revealed arms or ammunition will be treated as rebels. No doubt Damascus, like other Oriental towns like Damascus will be exceedingly disarmed.

20. There is now much talk at Damascus of peace negotiations. As reported in my telegram No. 39 of the 17th instant, deputations are proceeding to the Jebel Druse and to the bands east of Damascus, with a view to founding the rebel leaders as to the terms of peace they would be prepared to accept. Amir Arslan, a Lebanon Druse, who has been once exiled for his anti French activities, is a member of the first deputation. Emir Tabir, the cousin of Emir Said, who was recently released owing to the intervention of His Majesty's Government (see correspondence ending with my despatch No. 250 of the 19th ultimo) is a member of the second deputation. The members of both deputations had discussed the matter at Beirut with M. de Jouvenel, who gave them assurances that their missions would not be disapproved of. Some of the members travelled in the train by which I returned from Beirut. Apparently the French Government is anxious to see the French Government will certainly desire to be general, while the French apparently wish to limit it to cover only political rebellion as distinct from freebooting—a distinction not always easy to make. Amir Arslan says that the Jebel Druse does not wish to be independent, but would prefer to be included in the Syrian Unity. Apparently the Druses feel that they would be safer against any oppression such as that of Captain Carbillet, if they were part of a Syrian State whose Government could intercede

for them. In this connection, I would invite a reference to my despatch No. 82 of the 13th May last for the negotiations between the Druse chiefs and the Nationalists before the rebellion.

21. An important deputation of Damascene notables, elected at a meeting held at the municipality, wishes to proceed to Beirut to discuss the situation with M. de Jouvenel. The deputation is fairly representative of political and non-political elements of the population. There seems to be some doubt as to whether the deputation is prepared to accept the French proposal. All elements appear to think that the election of a Constituent Assembly to decide the future of the State must be promised by the French, if the rebels are to be

22. I have also expressed the opinion that the French would make a mistake in proceeding with a negotiation. The military effort required for the suppression of the rebellion is too great a sacrifice of blood and money probably to be made for the sake of a peace which is likely to be short-lived. The French are now engaged in a process of realising the folly of destroying villages and propose to adopt a system of hostages (see paragraph No. 9 of my despatch No. 240 of the 13th ultimo) to be taken from the different villages in the Merj and the Ghouta. While attempting to clear up the eastern garden area Colonel Andreu apparently hopes to disarm the town of Damascus, from which the bands are largely recruited. He has just issued a proclamation to the effect that all arms and ammunition in the city must be surrendered before the 1st January, 1926, after which date any in whose possession search has revealed arms or ammunition will be treated as rebels. No doubt Damascus, like other Oriental towns like Damascus will be exceedingly disarmed. There is now much talk at Damascus of peace negotiations. As reported in my telegram No. 39 of the 17th instant, deputations are proceeding to the Jebel Druse and to the bands east of Damascus, with a view to founding the rebel leaders as to the terms of peace they would be prepared to accept. Amir Arslan, a Lebanon Druse, who has been once exiled for his anti French activities, is a member of the first deputation. Emir Tabir, the cousin of Emir Said, who was recently released owing to the intervention of His Majesty's Government (see correspondence ending with my despatch No. 250 of the 19th ultimo) is a member of the second deputation. The members of both deputations had discussed the matter at Beirut with M. de Jouvenel, who gave them assurances that their missions would not be disapproved of. Some of the members travelled in the train by which I returned from Beirut. Apparently the French Government is anxious to see the French Government will certainly desire to be general, while the French apparently wish to limit it to cover only political rebellion as distinct from freebooting—a distinction not always easy to make. Amir Arslan says that the Jebel Druse does not wish to be independent, but would prefer to be included in the Syrian Unity. Apparently the Druses feel that they would be safer against any oppression such as that of Captain Carbillet, if they were part of a Syrian State whose Government could intercede

W. A. SMART

E 8164 357, 89]

No. 339.

Acting Consul-General Norman Mayers to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 31)

(No. 172.)

Beirut, December 20, 1925

Sir,

THE question of the currency is at the present time an undoubted source of discontent in the Great Lebanon, and perhaps a contributory cause of the general Syrian unrest. The Syrian pound, issued by the Banque du Syrie et du Grand Liban at the fixed value of 20 francs paper, follows the vagaries of its French stepmother and is thoroughly unpopular with the whole community.

2. The convention signed between the bank and accredited representatives on the 1st January 1924, which gave effect to the Department of Overseas Trade by Sir Ernest D'Almeida's despatch No. 3001 of the 20th May 1924, provided in article 2 that this money is the sole legal tender in the States of Syria, the Lebanon and the Jebel Druse. All public and private business was to be done in this currency and at fixed prices. But the money was already unpopular and partly ineffective, and the Government was forced to issue a supplementary decree on the 1st January 1925, which permitted the use of other currencies for a period of more than five days' duration, the keeping of deposit and current accounts in foreign currencies, and even the payment of debts in gold, provided both parties were in agreement on the transaction.

3. But these palliatives, introduced after an agitation in business circles here, did not go far enough. The bank, which had taken in good metal in exchange for its now depreciated paper, was accused of simple robbery. Its one-sided monopoly was resented. In Aleppo, I believe, its issue of paper money never had any circulation worth mentioning, and in Damascus only a partial one. The law as to legal tender was never test taken seriously. In the Lebanon where the Syrian pound and paper are more or less used elsewhere, the paper money is not used to any extent in spite of the fact that it is the only legal tender. It was



about 10 million Syrian pounds towards the end of 1923, has now dropped, it is said, to a level of about 8 millions.

4. The rapid fall in the franc has increased this distrust extensively during the last year. Business men of any standing have ceased to use the local currency except for transactions of the moment. Whichever shop in Beirut a customer enters he will find the cloth, hardware or furniture he wishes to purchase marked privately at a gold value. The vendor works out the price of the day at the rate of exchange and asks the equivalent in Syrian currency. This system is almost universal. In commerce it is the only practical one to follow. The price of vegetables and meat in the market even rises as the exchange falls. The whole country is alive to the worthlessness as a stable token of the official currency, and any boatman or cabman will quote to his fare the exchange rate of the day of the Egyptian or English pound.

5. The strange thing is that this state of affairs holds good in a country happy in having no national debt, no external debt beyond its obligations towards the Ottoman Public Debt, and a large quantity of gold in free, if theoretically occult, circulation. In no way can Syria hope to profit, as another country might in foreign trade for example, by the depreciation of her currency.

6. The difficulties of budgeting under these conditions can be imagined. Each time the franc falls there is dismay in the ranks of the petty traders, who have not yet learned the trick of dealing on a gold basis. Officials and clerks with fixed salaries are continually being given grounds for discontent with the diminishing purchasing power of their earnings.

7. The only people who appear to have benefited by the situation are the Banque de Syrie and some speculators. It seems likely too that French commerce has profited indirectly by the harnessing of the Syrian pound to the franc. The fixed ratio between the two, apart from the tendency of goods purchased in countries of low exchange to be fundamentally cheaper, encourages Syrian buyers to go to France for their stocks.

8. Against this gain should be set the loss in prestige which, in this country of a hard bargain and a quick perception of financial disadvantages, the low value of the currency suggests. France's supposed poverty is her chief defect in the eyes of many here, especially among the trading community of the Lebanon. If it is the law of the modern world that wealth induces respect, that rule holds certainly good in Syria, whose attention is continually turned on to the prosperity of Egypt, and to the administration which filled the flesh-pots of a land with which Syria has many ties.

9. A movement has consequently been set on foot for a new currency for Syria based on gold. France would do a great deal towards removing a sense of grievance if she acceded to it. Her excellent commercial position on the Syrian market might be maintained or even improved, in view of the probability of countries of high exchange purchasing goods in countries of low exchange, such as France at the moment is. The cost of the army of occupation and of the French administration, reckoned in French francs, would rise; but it is pointed out that in the matter of army supplies expenses would not be greatly increased, since cereals and meat, two of the chief commodities needed, are already bought on a gold basis.

10. The present currency is looked upon as having drained away a considerable part of the wealth of the country, and as still placing it under a perpetual disability. It is a constant reminder that the mandatory Power is not so strong on the exchequer side as alternative mandatory Powers might have been. If other conditions make it possible, a revision of the currency is one of the first steps which, after pacification, the French would be well advised to take.

I have, &c.

NORMAN MAYERS.

[E 8165/357/89]

No. 360.

Acting Consul-General Mayers to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 173.)

Sir,

Beirut, December 30, 1925.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 171 of the 14th December last I have the honour to report that there is a recrudescence of rebel activity in the country bordering on Hermon which lies between Rashaya and Hasbaya. The hands are again

in the vicinity of Hasbaya, where they are attacking the French. In view of the operations now proceeding in Damascus, this is only to be expected; but the menace to security in the country nearer Beirut, which appeared very real when Zayd Attrash made his first raid, is this time much further removed. If the Druses of the Lebanon were to be raised it was in that first unexpected rally.

2. A traveller who arrived from Hasbaya in the middle of last week describes the town as being abject in its misery. The return of the hands, who were then in the region of Khulweh-el-Kufeir in considerable strength, was hourly expected, and the guns were busy both to the north and to the south. More than half the inhabitants had left. Practically all the houses had been completely looted. Pillage by the French colonial troops still goes on. The Senegalese and the North Africans do not hesitate to knock down and beat women who cross their path on their marauding expeditions through the town, and peasants who have experienced both say they had better treatment at the hands of the Druses. The victims seem to take their lot very quietly nevertheless.

3. Since the reassertion of French authority the Druses living in the region have fared badly. All who could move have, of course, fled with their families and their goods, whether they took part in the rebellion or not. A house of a peaceable Druse in Hasbaya was described to me. The owner was an old man who lived there with his wife and invalid daughter. The women had got away, but he had been left behind when the French came back. Thereupon his house had been fired, and his burnt body still lay in its ashes. This was said by some to have been the work of the Christians of Kaakaba seeking vengeance (see paragraph 2 of my despatch No. 150 of the 13th November, 1925), by others to have been done by the French. I mention the fact as an instance that there is no lack of reciprocity in deeds of violence.

4. The weather, which has been very stormy during the last few days, will favour the French, who at any rate can find warmth and shelter in the villages they occupy, rather than the rebels, at large in the snow and sleet of the higher mountains.

I have, &c.

NORMAN MAYERS.



## CHAPTER V.—GENERAL.

[E 6502/382/65]

No. 361.

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain to the Marquess of Crewe (Paris).*

(No. 3435.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, October 22, 1925.*

I TOOK advantage of a visit of courtesy paid to me by the French Ambassador this afternoon to speak to his Excellency about the passage of Turkish troops through Syria. I reminded him of the extremely friendly assurances given to Mr. Phipps by M. Berthelot on the 1st June (your telegram No. 207 of that date), and by M. Léger on the 9th September, as reported by Mr. Phipps in a private letter. I said that I was now informed that the Turkish Government was seeking permission for the passage first of 600, and later of 6,000, men: that this gave me some concern, not that I thought that the Turks were contemplating an attack upon Iraq, but because there was no excuse for such movements, and they could only be intended as a threat. I trusted that, if any troops were allowed to pass, it would be only in small numbers, and that the French Government would insist that with the arrival of each detachment an equal number should be brought away before a further detachment was allowed to pass.

M. de Fleuriau told me that, from the Quai d'Orsay print which reached him in the ordinary course, he could tell me that he had seen that some such demands had been made, and that the French Government had instructed their Embassy in Constantinople to make strong objections. He would report to M. Briand what I had said.

I then told his Excellency that I must speak to him about Damascus. He asked rather eagerly if I had any news, and said that he had been intending to put this question to me.

I read to him, with very slight omissions and alterations, the text of telegram No. 20 of the 21st October from Consul Smart. I said that I thought it my duty to bring this report to his notice. Some account of the incident might reach this country in private letters, and I thought it better to speak frankly to him about it at once.

M. de Fleuriau thanked me for giving him this information. He said that as one who had had some experience of the East and Far East, the things which he had read had produced a very bad impression upon his own mind, which had been confirmed and strengthened by the telegram which I had just read to him. So much, he added, in all these Eastern countries, depended upon personality.

I then ventured upon the observation that such information as came to me made me feel that the French Government ought to be very vigilant, and that it might well be that a serious situation would develop in Syria. I wondered what part the Soviet or Turkish Governments had in these troubles.

M. de Fleuriau seemed to think that the Turks had little influence upon the disturbances, though they were not displeased by them. He thought the activities of the Soviet Government more dangerous.

I am, &amp;c.

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 362.

*The Marquess of Crewe to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 10.)*

(No. 419.)

[By Bag.]

*Paris, November 9, 1925.*

(Telegraphic.)

FOREIGN Office despatch No. 3656 and letter from Air Ministry dated 30th October.

I mentioned this matter to M. Briand to-day, reminding him of what M. Herriot had said in January last about the Syrian frontier, and adding that, so far as the recent passage of Turkish troops on the railway is concerned, I understood that the French authorities had been taking the matter in hand. On this latter point M. Briand said it had been clearly laid down that no greater number of troops

would be allowed to pass eastward than that which was passing west; that the former class must not represent reinforcements, but only reliefs.

As regards the frontier, he had given instructions to the French de- representatives that there was to be no question of giving up any of the territory of Syria. If any point ever arose which seemed to involve a change in the frontier he would certainly take no action without consulting you. He considered that our interests in that part of the world are so closely intertwined that independent action in such a matter would be a grave mistake. I said it was an open secret that the Turks cherished a hope of acquiring, in some way or another and at some time, control over the whole length of the Bagdad Railway. M. Briand said he had no intention whatever of parting with French control over that portion of the railway which runs through Syrian territory.

No. 363.

*Consul-General, Beirut, to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 11.)*

(No. 62.)

*Beirut, November 11, 1925.*

(Telegraphic.)

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry:—

"Train hitherto detained at Ischia has been allowed to proceed eastward. Another eastward-bound train will follow. Nothing more has passed westwards, although a thousand [group omitted] are expected. Unwillingly am forced to conclude French incapable of keeping agreements. Seventh division is unofficially reported to be about to move eastward by road. Syrian situation: rebels occupying Habbaya in the Horman area."

(Repeated to Bagdad and Palestine.)

[E 6984/357/89]

No. 364.

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain to the Marquess of Crewe (Paris).*

(No. 3779.)

*Foreign Office, November 14, 1925.*

My Lord,

THE latest reports which I have received from Syria are causing me grave concern, since they indicate a serious failure on the part of the French authorities to give effect to that policy of Anglo-French co-operation throughout the world which it has been the object of our two Governments to secure.

2. On the 5th December, 1924, in my first conversation with M. Herriot after I assumed my present office, I observed to his Excellency that national friendship could not be confined only to the relations existing between the Governments in London and Paris, but must extend to the relations of our representatives in all parts of the world. M. Herriot cordially agreed, and as a result all French and British representatives abroad were instructed to maintain close and continuous collaboration with their respective British and French colleagues. I am satisfied that my instructions in this respect have been scrupulously observed by British officials and by no one more so than His Majesty's consul at Damascus; and I have reason to know that M. Briand desires that the similar instructions issued by M. Herriot should be observed with equal loyalty.

3. But what has happened as regards Anglo-French co-operation in Syria? I find that Mr. Smart, His Majesty's consul at Damascus, an admirable public servant, known to possess the strongest sympathy and goodwill towards France, who has handled a difficult situation with consummate skill, has been accused by high French officials of direct responsibility for provoking the recent troubles at Damascus by means of alarmist notices which he is alleged to have placarded in the town. These accusations are devoid of any foundation whatever. Notices based on definite notifications made to Mr. Smart by the delegation of the High Commissioner were affixed by him after the first bombardment in the waiting-room of the consulate only, with a view to the removal of British subjects out of the danger zones in case the bombardment of the town should be renewed—an eventuality which had been foreshadowed if the town should fail to comply with the conditions imposed on it by the French authorities. These notices were withdrawn as soon as the delegation



Smart that the bombardment would not take place. The false accusations Smart have nevertheless been given wide publicity in the Paris press, and word of denial has been issued by the French Government, who should be told with the real facts of the case. I must express my profound regret at this

[E-00 and my earnest hope that the French Government will take immediate steps to correct it. His Majesty's Government are anxious to avoid the necessity for making any announcement or taking any steps which could appear to reflect on a French official or encourage controversy between the newspapers of the two countries, but the French Government will understand that they cannot leave His Majesty's consul exposed without defence to such attacks when his action in a most anxious situation has merited their warm approval.

4. This is not the only matter in which the French authorities in Syria have seriously failed to carry out the policy of Anglo-French co-operation in accordance with the instructions of the French Government. That Government is well aware of the concern which His Majesty's Government feel as regards the passage of Turkish troops eastwards over the Syrian section of the Bagdad Railway. Earnest representations have repeatedly been made during the last few weeks on this subject both in Paris and in London; and according to the categorical assurances given to your Lordship by the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 9th November, it had been clearly laid down by the French Government that no greater number of Turkish troops would be allowed to pass eastward than that which was passing west, i.e., that the former category of troops must represent not reinforcements but only reliefs. I now learn that the French authorities have allowed a Turkish troop train, hitherto detained at Ischia, to proceed eastwards, although no further Turkish troops have passed westward and that another eastward-bound train is to follow. I am at a loss for any explanation of an act so definitely at variance with the undertakings emphatically renewed by M. Briand only a few days since.

5. The present relations between the French and British Governments are happily so cordial that they can speak to each other with complete frankness about any difficulties or misunderstandings which may arise. I therefore believe that I am acting in accordance with M. Briand's wishes as well as my own inclination in bringing my anxieties at once to the notice of the French Government. I should fail in my duty were I not to call their attention frankly to the grave danger which threatens the relations between the two countries unless steps are taken forthwith to bring the actions of the French authorities in Syria into harmony with what I know to be the general policy of the French Government. I am firmly convinced that M. Briand is as anxious as I am to avoid any such risk at a time when the fullest confidence and co-operation is more than ever necessary for the execution of the great work of pacification in which we are engaged.

6. Your Lordship should read this despatch to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and leave a copy of it with his Excellency.

I am, &c.

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

[E 7143/357/89]

No. 365.

*Mr. Austen Chamberlain to the Marquess of Crewe (Paris).*

(No. 3836.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, November 10, 1925.*

THE French Ambassador called upon me this morning in anticipation of the visit of M. de Jouvenel this afternoon.

M. de Fleuriau recurred to the conversation which he had had with Sir William Tyrrell about affairs in Syria. He had reported what Sir William Tyrrell had said to Paris, and three days ago he had received instructions on the subject, but he had been prevented by indisposition from acting upon them earlier. M. Briand informed him that he fully shared my desire that our two countries should pursue a friendly and co-operative policy in every part of the world. He had no intention of failing in the obligations of friendship to Great Britain. Indeed, the Turkish Ambassador had shown the greatest suspicion of the intimate friendship between the French and British Governments which, he suggested, was causing the French Government to be unfaithful to the Angora engagements. M. Briand had replied that France would keep her engagements but that, even apart from her friendship with Great Britain,

she had special duties as mandatory to the League of Nations to prevent the mandated territory of Syria being used in any way for hostile preparations against another mandated territory. The Turkish Ambassador had explained the troops which it was desired to pass eastward were not reinforcements but the Turkish Government did not wish to bring back the men relieved by the route owing to the recent troubles in Kurdistan and the still prevalent unrest. It was desired to establish Turkish soldiers in that district and were replacing Kurdish soldiers by Turks. The distended soldiers therefore returned to their homes and did not pass westward. On these assurances the 6,000 troops which the Turks had asked for had been allowed to pass.

I told M. de Fleuriau that I was completely puzzled by this communication, which did not seem to me consistent with the information I had just received from you in your telegram No. 443.

M. de Fleuriau attempted at first to prove that the two communications were consistent inasmuch as the eastward-bound troops were in fact not reinforcements but reliefs.

I remarked that that was the information given by the Turkish Ambassador, but I asked whether the French Government was in a position to verify it; and I spoke with great seriousness to the Ambassador of the necessity of maintaining and enforcing upon subordinates the friendly policy of the two Governments. I pointed out that by yesterday's decision of the House of Commons we had become guarantors of French security, that this result had been achieved with the approval of all parties and by an almost unanimous vote of the House of Commons; but that there was in certain quarters a great deal of suspicion of French policy, and that I attached the utmost importance to being able to show that such suspicion was groundless.

M. de Fleuriau then, speaking personally and without instructions, as he took pains to observe, said that General Sarrail had been out of control, that he had kept the French Government completely in the dark, that it was not pleasant for him to have to make even personally and in such an informal way this confession to me, but that he was sure that I should find no such cause to complain of the action of the new High Commissioner. The Ambassador then touched lightly on the position of Mr. Smart, and drew my attention to the statement made by M. Briand yesterday to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber.

I said that I had noted this statement with pleasure, that Consul Smart's action had the full approval of His Majesty's Government and that he was known for his sympathy with France. The Ambassador might have observed that several questions had already been put to me on the subject in the House of Commons, but I had postponed them all till next Wednesday in order that I might have received M. Briand's reply before answering them, as in defending a British official I was anxious not to appear to reflect upon a servant of the French Government.

The Ambassador then passed to the question of Mosul. He said that he attached great importance to the statement which I had made to him in conversation in Paris, that I regarded that question as primarily an issue between Turkey and the League and that in particular I should so regard any attack by Turkey on the territory assigned by the League to Iraq. As this statement had been made in a private conversation he had not at first liked to make use of it, but Sir William Tyrrell had told him that he might regard it as an official expression of the view of the British Government. He had accordingly communicated it to M. Briand, who had assured him that the French Government had no intention of attempting to enforce any compromise that was disagreeable to this country, and would do its utmost within the limits imposed upon it to secure at the Council a solution acceptable to us.

I then developed more fully my views upon the importance of the treatment of the Mosul issue by the League. I pointed out how exactly parallel were the circumstances in which the League was constituted judge of the Mosul dispute with those which had made it judge of the Greco-Bulgarian frontier. In each case, the Council, having received an assurance from one of the parties that it would abide by the decision of the Council whatever it was, the Acting President had insisted upon obtaining from the other party a similar assurance before putting the report and resolution to the Council. The Council was, in fact, as M. Boncour had observed to me in Paris, building up a system of jurisprudence for the League out of these individual cases. If it allowed Greece or Bulgaria to go back on the assurance which each had given, what would remain of the authority of the League, and of what value would be the League in case of other frontier disputes, say, on the boundaries of Poland or Czechoslovakia, or even on the Rhine? It was in the light of the immense



of these decisions as precedents for the future action of the League in  
 not be graver cases that I had spoken to my colleagues and made my report  
 Council in the Græco-Bulgarian question.

The Ambassador said he fully realised the importance of this view of the case.  
 In respect of Mosul it was strengthened by the additional fact that Irak was a  
 mandated country under the guardianship of the League.

I replied that this added force to my argument, and that certainly if the Turks  
 were to attack the boundary settled by the League we should at once appeal to the  
 League, and I should ask what the Council proposed to do and what sanctions it  
 intended to enforce, and I should watch their decision with the greatest interest, for  
 the steps which they might take then would be the measure of the obligations to  
 which Great Britain might have to conform if the frontiers of other nations became  
 at some future time the subject of dispute.

No. 366.

*Consul-General, Beirut, to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 12.)*

(No. 75.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Beirut, December 12, 1925.*

FOLLOWING from liaison officer for Air Ministry:—

"Train situation as follows: Total of 29 officers and 6,087 men have  
 passed eastwards and 103 officers and 4,025 men have passed westwards.

"Syrian situation as follows: French concentrating all efforts on clearing  
 up Damascus situation, where ten battalions now concentrated. Many parts  
 of Syria denuded of troops for this purpose, and trouble may be now expected  
 elsewhere. Railway cut last night between Damascus and Rayak. High  
 Commissioner has gone to Aleppo, where anti-French propaganda becoming  
 very strong. Turkish influence suspected. Lebanon quiet."

(Repeated to Bagdad and Palestine. Sent to Foreign Office, No. 75.)

No. 367.

*Consul, Damascus, to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 17.)*

(No. 38.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Damascus, December 17, 1925.*

FRENCH High Commissioner informs me that he is sending Colonel Mailles  
 to Jerusalem to open discussions on frontier delimitation between British and French  
 mandated territories. Mailles, who was on Turco-Syrian Frontier Commission, has  
 been reported by His Majesty's consul at Aleppo as Anglophil.

(Sent to Bagdad, No. 30, and Jerusalem, No. 15.)